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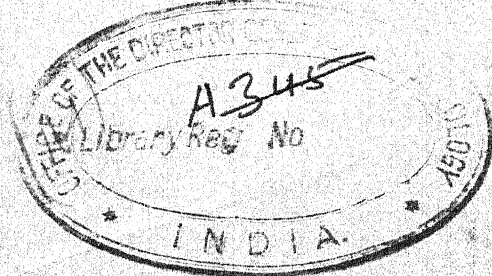
AN ENDEAVOUR TO ELUCIDATE

RASHIDUDDIN'S

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF INDIA.

BY

COL. H. YULE, C.B.



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AN ENDEAVOUR TO ELUCIDATE
RASHIDUDDIN'S
GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF INDIA.

By COL. H. YULE, C.B.

ONE of the most interesting articles in the late Sir Henry Elliot's work, "*The History of India as told by its own Historians*," is that which consists of extracts from Rashiduddin's *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh*. A large part of that worthy's notices of India is indeed taken from Albiruni, but the concluding portion is presumably his own, and speaks of a state of things existing in his own time. It is to this portion of the article that the following observations refer. In the original edition of Sir Henry Elliot's work this was crammed with obscurities. Many of these have been removed by the recent editor, Professor Dowson, through the comparison of various MSS., but obscurities still remain. Recent studies having directed my attention to this subject, I have been trying to clear these up. In many cases I have utterly failed; in some I trust to have succeeded in throwing a little light, and I venture to submit the result to the Society, in the hope that others, much more competent, will lend aid in cracking some of the hard nuts that are left.¹

The editor, for reasons given in his preface, has adopted a system for the exhibition of Oriental words which does not attempt the representation of *precise* Oriental spelling. He says this would have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. An anomalous reader like myself, who cannot class himself as either the one or the other, has, perhaps, no right to say a word. Yet, I think, where so

¹ The substance of part of these remarks has been already printed in notes on *Cathay and the Way Thither*; a work issued by the Hakluyt Society.

many proper names occur of exceedingly doubtful reading, it would have been well either to diacriticize the letters or to give the original readings below. This last has been done, indeed, in many cases, but in some others, where it was very desirable, it has been omitted.

I shall extract the passages on which I have anything to observe, paragraph by paragraph, interpolating the remarks that have occurred to me; omitting entirely those passages on which I have nothing relevant to offer.

(*Guzerát*, p. 67.)

"Múltán and U'ch are subject to Dehli, and the son of the Súltán of Dehli is the Governor. There is a road from hence by land as well as by the shore of the sea to Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Kambáya, Somnát, Kankan, Tána, and several other cities and towns Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such that cotton plants grow like willows and plane-trees, and yield produce ten years running. Sugar from Malwa, *bádrú* (balm) and *baladi* are exported in ships from the coasts of Guzerát to all countries and cities."

Kankan and *Tána*, which are printed in the translation as distinct, should, in all probability, form a compound name, *Kankan-Tána*, uniting the name of the city and province, as in *Kij-Makrán*, *Diul-Sind*, and many other cases. The compound term is actually used by Ibn Batuta in the shape of *Kúkan-Tána* (III., 335), whilst it appears in the *Portulano Mediceo* of the middle of the 14th century as *Cocintana*, and in the Catalan Map of 1375 more incorrectly as *Cocintaya*.

The statement about the cotton plants of Guzerat is remarkable in itself, and also from its conformity with what Marco Polo says in treating of the same province: "In this province of Guzerat there grows much pepper, ginger, and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton plants are very large, growing full six paces high, and to the age of twenty years. It is to be noted, however, that when the trees get so old the cotton is not good to spin, but fit for quilting and stuffing beds. Up to the age of and im-

years they give good spinning cotton, but from that to twenty years the produce is inferior."

Baladi is, I imagine, the quality of ginger so called ("country ginger"), which is often mentioned in the mercantile handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (circa 1340), as well as by Nicolo Conti, and, at a later date, Barbosa.

There seems some doubt about *Bádrá*, which is, in part, a conjectural reading, and does not seem to be a probable staple of trade. In a previous passage, (p. 66) the word appears in the form of *Bávarúi*. There is a passage in Barbosa of which I will hazard the quotation, as perhaps containing light on the subject. Speaking of staple articles of export from the ports near Cambay he especially names manufactured articles of carnelian and of *chalcledony*, "which they call *Babayore*" (*Ramusio* I., f. 297 v.). The *Mohit* also, in speaking of Cambay, says: "In this country is a profusion of *Bábághuri* and cornelians (J.A.S.B. V. 463). The word is in Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary as "باباقوري, a kind of hard stone, an agate (?);" and in his English-Turkish Dict. the equivalent of *chalcledony* is given *اق باباقوري*, and *Bábákuri* simply with a (?), as that of *agate*. This word may thus possibly be identical with *Bávarúi*, which in that case would represent the chalcledonies and agates which have so long been a product of Cambay.

(*Malabar*, p. 67-8).

"Beyond Guzerat are Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malibár, which, from the boundary of *Karoha* to Kúlam, is 300 parasangs in length. . . . Of the cities on the shore the first is *Sindábúr*, then *Faknúr*, then the country of *Munjarúr*, then the country of *Hili*, then the country of *Sadarsá*, then *Jangli*, then *Kúlam*."

Karoha, the northern boundary of Malabar. The definition of Malabar here includes Canara and even part of the Konkan, for the boundary is to be sought north of Goa, as we shall see presently. I take *Karoha* to be probably Gheriah (*Garhiáh* ?), in after days the fortress of Angria, and a prominent point on the coast. In the early part of the Portu-

guese regime the limit between the Goa territory and that of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan on the coast was at *Carapatam*, a place not found in our modern maps, but which W. Hamilton identifies (*Corepatam*) with Gheriah, though Rennell places it some distance south of the latter.

Sindábúr.—Difficulty has been created as to the position of this place, owing to Abulfeda's confounding it with *Sindán*, which lay north of *Tána* (see in *Gildemeister*, p. 188). That place may possibly also have been in old days called *Sindábúr*—there is nothing to be made of the desperate confusion of Edrisi on the subject,—but Abulfeda's own data show us that the *Sindábúr* of his day lay three days (voyage) south of *Tana*, and was reached shortly before *Hunáwar* (Onore). This agrees perfectly with Rashiduddin's indication, and with Ibn Batuta's. The place appears as *Chintabor* and *Cintapor* on the Catalan and Medicean maps, in as great accordance with the position we assign to it as could be expected.

Ibn Batuta himself speaks of *Sindábúr* as on *an island* containing thirty-six villages, as being one of the ports which traded direct with Aden, and as being about one day's voyage north of *Hunáwar*. It could not, therefore, have been far from Goa, and I believe it to have been identical with Goa for the following reasons:—

(1) Ibn Batuta says the island stood on an estuary, of which the water was salt at flood and fresh at ebb; therefore it was a *Delta* island, as Goa is.

(2) His mention of *Thirty-six* villages suggests that this number was notorious. And De Barros says the island of Goa was known by a native name, meaning *Thirty Villages*. He also says that it was anciently one of the great ports for the import of horses from Arabia.

(3) In the Turkish work on navigation, called the *Mohit*, translated by Hammer-Purgstall, there is a section headed by the translator "24th Voyage, from *Kuwai Sindabur* to Aden." The original characters given in a note read *کوه سندابور* (J.A.S.B. V. 464).

Gildemeister (p. 46) seems to have an inkling of the view here taken, but does not see clearly that the Goah (rather

Kāwī (كاوي) of Ibn Batuta is really in Guzerat (*Gongway* or *Conwa* opposite *Cambay*).

Faknūr is mentioned under that name also by Ibn Batuta, who touched there between Hunáwar and Mangalore. It is probably the *Maganūr* of Abdurrazzák, and was well known in the 16th and 17th centuries as *Baccanore*.

Manjarūr is Mangalore, as Sir H. Elliot has pointed out.

Hili. The general position of this place is still marked by Monte Dely, a prominent landmark on the coast between Mangalore and Cannanore, and the name of which is in a Portuguese form "the Hill of Hili or Hely." The hill itself is mentioned by Abulfeda as *Rás Haiñi*. The territory is the *Ely* of Marco Polo, who speaks of its one or more estuaries affording but imperfect shelter to vessels, on which account the Chinese ships that frequented it had to hurry their lading. Ibn Batuta calls Hili a great and well-built city situated on a large estuary, accessible to great ships. It was the only port on the coast, he says, besides Calicut and Kaulam, which the China junks entered. *Elly* appears on the Catalan map below *Manganor*; and is mentioned by Nicolo Conti along with *Pacamurū* (read *Pacanuria*, *Faknūr*, or *Baccanore*).

I find no means of deciding absolutely whether the port of Hili lay north or south of Mount Dely. To the north there is one considerable river, that which Rennell calls Cangerecora, passing Nileswheram (supposed to represent the ancient *Nelcynda*); to the south of it there is another estuary on which stands *Baliapatam*, where the English had a factory in the 17th century, and where the Raja of Cannanore had his residence in the 16th. Ibn Batuta puts a port called *Jorfattan* three parasangs beyond Hili, and I suspect this may be only a quasi translation of *Baliapatam* (*Zor*=strength, *Bali*=strong). If this be so Hili must have been on the northern river.

There is perhaps an indication of Hili in the *Ela-bacare* of the Periplus, at the mouth of the river of *Nelcynda*; but the passage is defective. There is a clearer indication in the *Elima* of the Ravenna geographer, who mentions it next to *Nelcinna* or *Nelcynda*.

Sadarsá. This is perplexing as it stands, but the variation given by Professor Dowson from MS. C. (فندرسا) shows clearly what the name ought to be, viz., فندرينا *Fandarainá*, a port mentioned under that name both by Edrisi and Ibn Batuta, as *Bandirana* (miswritten *Bandinana*) by Abdurrazzák, as *Fantalaina* in a Chinese edict of 1296, regarding Indian trade, which is quoted by Pauthier (*Mare Pol*, p. 532). It appears as *Fenderena* in the great map of Fra Mauro, as *Flandrina* in the travels of Friar Odoric; and in Barbosa, Varthema, and De Barros, by its name in the indigenous shape of *Pandaráni*. The place has long dropt out of our maps, but its position is fixed by Varthema, who says that opposite the port, three leagues from shore, was an uninhabited island. This must be the *Sacrifice Rock*, about thirty miles north of Calicut.

Jangli. This is presumably جنكلي, and I doubt not it should be read *Chinkali*. The name appears as *Shinkala* or *Shinkali* in Abulfeda (see *Gildemeister*, p. 185), and is mentioned as *Cynkali* by John Marignolli, *Cyngilin* by Odoric, and *Singuyli* by Friar Jordanus. Abulfeda couples it with *Sháliyát*, called by the Portuguese *Chalia* and *Chale*, which was the port next below Calicut. And the next again of importance below that was *Cranganore*. Now Assemani tells us incidentally that *Cranganore* was also called *Seigla*, i.e. *Shigla*, or *Shinkala*. *Chinkali* is therefore *Cranganore* (*Assem.* III., Pt. 2, 440 and 732)

Kúlam, the *Kaulam*, *Columbum*, *Coilon*, *Colon*, of many travellers from the 9th century downwards, surviving in decay as *Quilon*.

(*Ma'bar*, p. 69).

"*Ma'bar*, from *Kúlam* to the country of *Siláwar*, extends 300 parasangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called *Dewar*, which means, in the *Ma'bar* language the "lord of wealth." Large ships, called in the language of China "*Junks*," bring various sorts of choice merchandize and clothes from *Chín* and *Máchín*, and the

countries of Hind and Sind. The merchants export from Ma'bar silken stuffs, aromatic roots; large pearls are brought up from the sea. The productions of this country are carried to 'Irak, Khurasan, Syria, Rûm, and Europe. The country produces rubies and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. Ma'bar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sundar Bandi was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takiuddin bin 'Abdu-r rahman bin Muhammadu-t Tibi, brother of Shaikh Jamáluddin, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malifatan, and Báwal; and because there are no horses in Ma'bar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamáluddin Ibrahím should send to the Dewar 1400 strong Arab horses obtained from the island of Kis, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fárs, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Harmúz, Kilahát, etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dinars of red gold current. . . . In the year 692 A.H. (1293, A.D.) the Dewar died, and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jumaluddin, who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock loads of gold, etc., and Takiuddin, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant."

First, as to the names of places in this passage. For *Siláwar* read *Niláwar*, and then we get the northern limit of what was understood by Ma'bar. Kaulam belonged to Malabár. But beyond that, or as Abulfeda puts it, beyond Cape Comorin, and, as we here learn, as far as *Nellore*, was called Ma'bar. The reading commends itself to adoption; but in fact it is found in a parallel passage of Wassáf's history, which will be referred to afterwards.

For *Báwal* read *Káil*, as in Binakiti, quoted in the editor's note. *Káil* was a famous port in those days, to which Marco Polo devotes a chapter. It stood a little south of Tuticorin, which may be considered its modern but far humbler representative. Indeed *Coilpatam* is mentioned in Hamilton's Gazetteer as still a chief port of Tinnevely, though now it

has dropt from our maps. It continued to be a place of some importance down to Portuguese times, and is mentioned by Abdurrazzák (miswritten *Kábil*), Conti (*Kahila*), Vasco da Gama (Caell), Barbosa, Varthema, and Giovanni of Empoli. The traditions of the Mahommedans of Ceylon point to it as the first settlement of their forefathers in India.

The identification of *Futan* and *Malifattan* is a desideratum. *Fattan* is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as a fine large city on the shore, with an excellent harbour. He visited it when accompanying Ghaiássuddín, Sultan of Ma'bar, from a campaign in the vicinity of *Harkátu* (Arcot) to *Mutrah* (Madura). It appears also to have been the chief port of Madura, for Ibn Batuta goes thither from Madura to take ship, and finds a fleet bound for Malabar and Yemen. Either *Negapatam* or *Nagore* appears to answer best to these frail data. As the names *Nagore* and *Fattan* alike signify "The City," perhaps it is to be identified with Nagore, which retained a large amount of foreign trade, especially with the Archipelago fifty years ago, whatever may be its present state. But, as regards means of information in books, I must say now as Rashid said then, that that coast possesses many cities and villages, but I can learn little about them!

Malifattan is presumably the *Manifattan* of Abulfeda, mentioned by him as a city on the coast of Ma'bar. It is also mentioned as a principality of southern India by Friar Jordanus (circa 1328). "There is also the King of *Molephatum*, whose kingdom is called Molepor, where pearls are taken in infinite quantities." And, when the said Jordanus was nominated Bishop of Columbum or Kaulam, we find the Pope (John XXII.) addressing commendatory letters in his behalf, not only to the Christians of that place, but also to "the whole body of Christian people dwelling in *Molephatum*."¹ The mention of pearls points to the vicinity of the Gulf of Manar. And the address of the Pope's letter is remarkable, as showing that there were Christians before the time of Xavier on that coast as well as in Malabar. I find *Malipatan* marked in a map which accompanies a letter from

¹ Oder. Raynaldi *Annal. Ecclesiast.* An. 1330, lv.

Père Bouchet in the *Lettres Edifiantes*. It there occupies a position on the shore of Palk's Bay, a little north of where our maps show *Devipatan*, but perhaps identical therewith. This is very probably the medieval Malifattan.¹

The two *Jamaluddins* mentioned in the extract are to be distinguished, as may be gathered from a comparison of the extracts from Wassáf, which Hammer-Purgstall has happily pitch-forked into his History of the Ilkhans. The one called here Shaikh Jamaluddin, is called by Wassáf Jamaluddin Abdurrahman Ut-Thaibi, "the Great Farmer-General and Lord of the Marches of India;" and we see here that he became more or less of a ruling Prince in the Peninsula a good many years before the time when standard histories recognize any Mahomedan rule in those parts. He is, perhaps, the *Tchamalating*, whom Pauthier's Chinese Extracts show to have gone on a mission from Ma'bar to the court of Kublai Kaan in or previous to 1281; and the *Silamuting*, whom they show as ruler of Ma'bar in 1314, was perhaps his grandson Nizámuddír, of whom Wassáf speaks (see *Pauthier*, pp. 601, 604, and *Hammer*, ii. 206). The other, Jamaluddin Ibrahim, bore the title of *Malik-ul-Islam*, and was Farmer-General of Fárs in the time of Arghún Khan and his successors, with great authority in the Persian Gulf. His contract with Takiuddin, the brother of the Indian Jamaluddin, is also mentioned by Wassáf, who was himself secretary to the Persian official and conducted his correspondence with India.²

We should not omit to note again a striking conformity with Marco Polo's statements in the paragraph on which we are now commenting. When that traveller was in Ma'bar he found it under the rule of five brothers, of whom one, called Sender-Bendi Devar, ruled that province which was near Ceylon, which held supremacy over the pearl fishery, which was the best and noblest province of southern India, and which was called *Soli*, indications which point to Tanjore and Ramnad; whilst another brother, called Ascíar (*Ishwar?*),

¹ See *Lett. Edif.* (First Edition) 1722, Rec. XV.; Lyons Edn. 1819, Vol. VII.

² See *Gesch. der Ilkhane*, II. 51-2, etc.

ruled at Kail. In Ramusio's version of Polo the conformity is even closer, for that version, like Rashiduddin's account, makes the brother princes not *five*, but four in number. Polo, too, speaks of the horse trade in almost the same terms as the text, though he puts the price that horses then reached still higher, viz., "500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver."¹

Sundar Bandi (*Sundara Pāndi*) died, as we see from Rashid, in 1293, which must have been immediately after Marco Polo's passage by India to Persia, though that traveller's knowledge of Ma'bar may have been derived from an earlier visit to the Indian coast, of which there are some suggestions. Shaikh Jamaluddin is here stated to have succeeded Sundara Pandi, and the former, according to Wassaf (as far as I can make out from Hammer's dates), died about 1306. We then hear of a Raja of Ma'bar—distinct, apparently, from any one of the four brothers—stepping in to confiscate the great wealth which Jamaluddin had left. This Raja is called by Wassaf, Gilish Diur (*Kalesa Dewar*?). It is stated that he had ruled for forty years in perfect peace and health, without ever having been sick or attacked by an enemy! In the treasury of *Shahrmendi* he had accumulated 1200 krors (!) of gold. He had two sons, Sundar Bandi by a lawful wife, and Pirebandi (*Vira Pandi*?) by a concubine. He designated the latter, who was the superior character, as his successor. Sundar Bandi, enraged at this, slew his father (1309), and took forcible possession of Shahrmendi and its treasure. Pirebandi succeeded in driving him out; Sundar Bandi went to Aláuddin, Sultan of Dehli, and sought help. The Sultan eventually sent his General Hazárdinári (Malik Kafúr) to conquer Ma'bar, etc.²

This looks like a genuine story, but there are several diffi-

¹ The *saggio* of Venice was 1-6th of an ounce, but in Asiatic estimates Polo probably uses it for the *miskal*, which was not very different. The *miskal* of gold would be worth about 13s. in gold, giving £325 for the price of a horse; whilst 100 marks of silver would be a little over £200 in silver of our present money. But I have elsewhere shown reasons for believing that the relation of gold to silver in civilized Asia was then as 10 to 1; and this would make the two values nearly equivalent.

² Hammer, *ib.* 197 and 205-6.

culties. The Sundar Bandi here spoken of must, of course, be a different person from the prince mentioned by Polo and Rashiduddin, and it is difficult to *co-ordinate* this Raja Kalesa of forty years peaceful reign with the four or five brothers at perpetual war, whom Polo found in possession of the country. Possibly these latter were adventurers who had divided the coast districts among them, whilst the Sovereign of the old dynasty still reigned in the interior at Shahrmenti, which *may be* Madura, but is, perhaps, more probably the fortress of *Trisirapuri* (Trichinopoly).

Sea Route to China from Ma'bar, p. 70.

"There are two courses or roads from this place: one leads by sea to Chín and Machín, passing by the Island of Silan. It is four parasangs long and four wide. It is parallel to the equator.

"Sarandip is at the foot of the Júdi mountain The men are all Buddhists, and bow to and worship images.

"The Island of Lámúri, which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

"Beyond it lies the country of Súmútra, and beyond that Darband Nias, which is a dependency of Java. In the mountains of Jáva scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Barlak, Dalmian, Jáva, and Barkúdoz. The mountains of Jává are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

"Opposite Lámúri is the Island of Lákwáram, which produces red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Káán. Passing on from this, you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Káán. The people are red and white.

"Beyond that is Haitam, subject also to the Káán.

"Beyond that is Máháchín, then the harbour of Zaitún on the shore of the China Sea, and an officer of the Káán, entitled Shak, resides there. Beyond that is Khansái', in which

the market-place is six parasangs broad, from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Káán, who are Moghals, Musulmán's, Khitáyans and Ghuris. Khansái is the capital.

"Forty days' journey from it lies Khánbálik, the capital of the Phoenix of the West—Káán, king of the earth."

The two courses diverging from Ma'bar (viz., from Kail) are two routes to China—one by sea, the other along the eastern shore of India and then overland into Western China.

The passage about Silán and Sarandip is confused and probably corrupt. The *four* parasangs of length and breadth probably was written *forty*. One of the articles in Kazwini (*Gildemeister*, 197) makes the length and breadth of Sarandíb equal, each eighty parasangs; and another article (p. 203), as here, seems to distinguish between *Sailán* and *Sarandip*, putting the latter in the interior of the former.

The application of the term *Júdi* to Adam's peak is curious. Sir E. Tennent mentions that a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and an Arabic version of the same in the Bodleian library, both substitute *Sarendip* for *Ararat* in the narrative of the Deluge.¹ As *Júdi* is the Ark Mountain of the Mahomedans, it looks as if Rashiduddin held the same tradition.

The Island of *Lámúri* is certainly Sumatra, with especial reference to its *North-West* extremity (not *North-East*, as in Sir H. Elliot's note). The name is used in like manner by Friar Odoric, who, on quitting Ma'bar, and sailing fifty days across the ocean towards the south, came to a certain country called *Lamori*, where he lost sight of the North Star. *Lambri*, a province of this part of Sumatra, appears not only in the Shijárat Maláyu and Marco Polo, as mentioned in the note, but also in De Barros as one of the twenty-nine petty kingdoms which divided the coast of Sumatra at the beginning of the 16th century. The Turkish author of the *Mohit*, in describing the course to Malacca, says: "If you wish to reach Malacca guard against sighting *Jámisfulah*" (Pulo Gomus, a small island off Achin Head, the *Gavenispolo* of Marco Polo), "because the mountains of *Lámri* advance into

¹ *Ceylon*, Fourth Ed., I. 551-2.

the sea, and the flood is there very strong" (*J. As. Soc. Bengal*, VI., 807).

Sûmûtra is mentioned with reference to Lamori in the same way as here, by Friar Odoric. "In this same island towards the south (*i.e.* in the same bearing that he believed he had come from Ma'bar), is another kingdom, by name *Su-moltra*," in which he says the people brand themselves on the face, *i.e.* tattoo themselves, as stated here; a practice not now followed by any of the races of Sumatra itself of which we have distinct accounts. The kingdom in question is the *Samûdra* of the Malay Annals, the *Samara* of Marco Polo (probably a clerical error for *Samatra*), and the *Sûmuthra* of Ibn Batuta, who twice visited the court of its Mahomedan Sultan near the middle of the 14th century. It lay along the north coast, west of Pasei, and the capital probably stood near the head of the Bay of Pasei. Possibly traces or memory of it would be found still to exist, but that coast has almost fallen out of the knowledge of European geography.

Though *Nias* is the name of a large island off the west coast of Sumatra, I hardly think it can be referred to in the term *Darband Nias* or *Manás*. The writer is noting points on the route to China. Sumatra comes in beyond Lamuri; Nias does not fall into the route. The term *Darband*, perhaps, points to the Straits of Singapore, and Singhapûra was a Javanese colony.

Aru and *Barlak* were both petty states of Sumatra. The former appears (*Haru*) in the Malay annals as converted at an early date to Islam, and is mentioned by De Barros and other Portuguese writers. Its position was apparently on the Eastern coast of the Batta country, below the Assahan River. Tanjong *Perlak*, the Malay name of what we call Diamond Point, is a trace of the kingdom of Perlak (or *Barlak* of the text); it is mentioned in the Malay annals, and is Marco Polo's *Ferlec*.

Dalmian might prove to be the *Dagroian* of Polo, if we knew the proper reading.

Lâkwâram no doubt should be *Nâkwâram*, the *Necuveram* of Polo, Nicobar Islands. Their ambergris and naked folk

are standing topics down a long chain of travellers. The statement that they were subject to the Káán is illustrated by Polo's similar statement as to uncivilized races on the coast of Sumatra: "They call themselves his subjects, but they pay him no tribute; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still, all these islanders declare they are his subjects, and sometimes they send him strange things as presents." Kublai Káán had a whim of sending embassies about the world to invite tenders of allegiance and to collect curiosities. One of them got as far as Madagascar, and was treated like Mr. Rassam. Kublai, more fortunate than a government we wot of, appears to have got his envoys released at the expense of a second mission, and they brought him back full compensation in the shape of a rukh's quill eighty palms long.

Jampa is the *Champa* and *Chamba* of medieval travellers, the *Sanf* of older Arab voyagers, and was then equivalent to Cochin China without Tonking.

Haitam should probably be *Hainam*, and represent 'An-nam or Tonking.

Máháchin is Canton. Odoric, John Marignolli, Wassáf, Ibn Batuta, and Rashiduddin himself elsewhere, give it the same name in the Persian form of *Chín-Kalán*. It also appears in that form in the Catalan map, very well placed.

Zaitún, or Chincheu (properly Thsiuancheu), probably in those days by far the greatest commercial port in the world, has often been written about. Ibn Batuta landed here, and hence, apparently, Marco Polo sailed for Persia.

Shak, the Káán's officer. Read سگت *Sing* or *Shing*, as the *Sank* of the note suggests. "*Shing*, i.e. a great city, in which the high and mighty council holds its meetings" (*Wassáf* by Hammer, p. 43). "*Scieng* qe vaut à dire le Cort Greignor qe ne a sor elz qe le Grant Sire. Le Palais ou el demorent est ausi apellés *scien*" (*Polo*, in Ed. *Soc. de Geog.* p. 110). "The empire hath been divided by the Lord thereof into twelve parts; each one whereof is termed a *Singo*" (*Fr. Odoric*, p. 136). "As the Kaan generally resides at the capital he has erected a palace for the sittings of the Great

Council, called *Sing* *Sing* do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium, and Rúm. In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sing*" (*Rashiduddin*, an extract by Klaproth, *Journ. As.* Ser. II. Tom. XI.).

Neumann says the Chinese word is *Sing*, signifying primarily to investigate, and then *Inspection*, a *Province*, a *Provincial Council*. "It is also pronounced *Seng* in the sense of the city or capital where the council sits." Pauthier, again, says Polo's *Scieng* is rather *Siang*, a minister of state, or his office. Probably the non-Chinese confounded the words.

Ghuris. Read *Ighurs*. In another place Rashíd says the members of the Káán's cabinet were *Tajiks*, *Cathayans*, *Ighurs*, and *Arkaún* (Nestorian Christians).

(*Overland Route to China*, p. 72-3.)

"With respect to the other road, which leads from Ma'bar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Kábal, then proceeds to the city of Kúnjú and Sunjú, then to Kín, then to Mali Fatan, then to Kardaráyá, then to Hawáriún, then to Daklí, then to Bijalár, which, from of old, is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultan of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Ratbán, then Arman, then Zar-dandán, so called because the people cover their teeth with gold. They puncture their hands and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Káán. This country is bounded on one side by the sea, afterwards comes the country of Rákán, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men; they likewise are subject to the Káán. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley An other large country is called Kandahár, which the Moghals

call *Karájáng*. These people spring from *Khitái* and *Hind*. In the time of *Kúbilá Kâân* it was subdued by the Moghals. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins *Khitá*, and another adjoins *Hind*. Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities: *Hind* is celebrated for its armies, *Kandahár* for its elephants, and the *Turks* for their horses."

The names in this passage are so corrupt and uncertain that we can just trace the general line intended; and it is at least interesting to know that such a line of communication with China was recognized in those days.

For *Kábal* again read *Käil*, which is the point of starting. *Kúnjú* and *Sunjú*, which are omitted in some of the MSS., I suspect may be interpolations by some one misunderstanding the route.¹

Taking the variations in the editor's note as a basis, I would read: "It commences at the city of *Käil*, and proceeds thence to *Fattan* (فتن instead of فین) and thence to *Majlifattan*" (*Masulipatam*).

Kardaráyá is probably *Godavery* in some form. A city in the Delta (*Coringa*?) was so called, at least, by foreigners, as may be seen in *De Barros*. And *Rennell* writes *Point Godavery* as *Gordewar*.

For the next name the old edition had *Hawárawún*, which, possibly might be a corrupt transcript of *Sunárkáuún* or *Sunargong*. *Bijalár* is of course *Bengal*, as the note shows, then quasi-independent under the dynasty of *Nasaruddín*, who was son of the Emperor *Balban* of *Dehli*. *Ratbán* and *Arman* (or *Uman*) I should guess to represent *Arakan* (*Rakán* or *Rakain*), and *Burma* under some form of *Polo's* name for it (*Mien* or *Amien*). The *Zardandán* are old friends described precisely under that name by *Polo*; their headquarters were at *Yunchang*, on the Chinese frontier of *Burma*.² The next passage, introducing the sea, is absent

¹ We do find *Kanja* and *Sanji* in *Edrisi* (see the extracts, p. 90), though it is difficult to know where to look for them. *Kanchi* and *Gingee* are the nearest conjectures I can make, if the names in the text are genuine, but I cannot think these probable.

² I suspect they were *Singphos*, but no modern report attests the existence of the custom ascribed to them among any tribe on that frontier.

from some MSS., and is not comprehended. Those shameless people on the borders of Tibet are probably Polo's people of *Kaindu*, to whom he ascribes a discreditable custom.

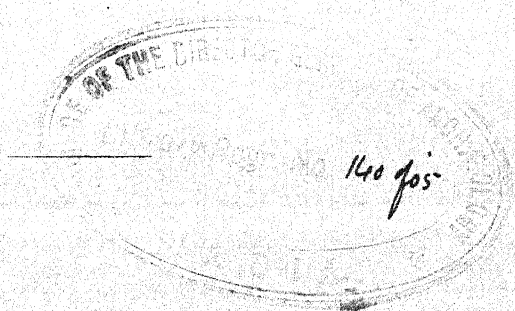
Karájang was we know the term applied by the Mongols to the great Province of Yunan, in the conquest of which Kublai Kaan took part personally, before his accession to the sovereignty. The term is used by Marco Polo (Carajan). But the other name here applied to it, *Kandahár*, is more obscure. *Kandahár* was the Arabic form of the name of *Gandhára*, the ancient and famous province on the Upper Indus, as may be seen in Sir H. Elliot's note, p. 48 of the work. It was the custom of the Indo-Chinese nations, who derived their religion from India, to apply Sanscrit names, and the names of Indian countries, especially such as were famous in the history of Buddhism, to their own lands and cities or those in their vicinity. Thus we have in Indo-Chinese regions *Champa*, *Kamboja*, *Ayodhya*, *Kausambi*, and many more such duplicates of ancient Indian names. Among the rest *Gandhára* appears to have been thus applied to Yunan, or some part of it. In the correspondence of the Kings of Burma with the court of Peking, the Chinese Emperor is often styled the King of *Gandálarit*, which seems to be the Burmese form of the name¹ (e.g. see *J. A. S. Bengal* V. 161; VI. 436, 438). It is odd certainly that Rashidud-din should have got hold of this name. And it is pretty evident that he confounds it with the original *Gandhára*, for in another place he says: "The Indians call it *Kandar*, we call it *Kandahár*." The old saw of the 'Philosophers' is not likely to have had any reference to remote Yunan, of which the knowledge probably only reached Persia since the Mongol conquest of it. And, lastly, in the passage translated at p. 63 of Elliot, Rashidud-din, in transcribing Albiruni's notice of the real *Gandhára* on the Indus, interpolates "which the Moghals call *Karájáng*," an interpolation which sadly shakes one's faith in the soundness of the Wazir's geographical knowledge.

¹ Col. Burney (VI. 436) says *Gandálarét* is the classical name for *China*. But my friend, Sir Arthur Phayre, informs me that it applies to some part of Yunan.

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THE NIRVANA OF THE NORTHERN BUDDHISTS.

BY THE

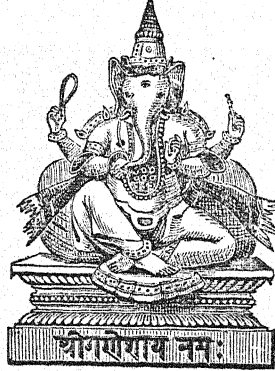
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THE
NIRVANA OF THE NORTHERN BUDDHISTS.

By the Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., of Peking.

THE word "Nirvana" expresses the doctrine of immortal hope as held by the ten Buddhist nations; the Singhalese of Ceylon, the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, the Tibetans, Mongols, Chinese, Coreans, Japanese, Cochin Chinese, Siamese, and Birmese.

The happiness they are looking for beyond this life, according to the teaching of Shakyamuni, is the Nirvana. Very interesting it is to inquire what all these races think of the future existence of the soul and of the real nature of death.

The religious thinker in all lands meditates much on death, and assigns to it according to his idea its own special significance. Death is to all men the inevitable end of their bodily activity, and presents in all countries to every reflective observer the same phenomena. But the metaphysical Hindoo, the believer in the necessary evil attaching to matter, will not look on death in the same way as the singer of some Scandinavian "Saga," or as the hunter in the primeval forests of America.

What more natural, then, that the meditative Buddhist in his cloister erected on the banks of some ancient Hindoo river, accustomed as he was to look on human life as utterly bad and delusive, should learn to regard death as the joyful enfranchisement of the captive soul, a rest from the weary longings and disappointments of poor human nature?

Those men among the contemplative monks of Hindoo antiquity who had the sharpest intellects and the highest spiritual development became the leaders of the multitude. What they said was truth and law. It was accepted by inferior men, who taught it as authoritative. The Nirvana is a doctrine of death suited to a monkish system which declares all the joy of life to be deception, and looks with philo-

sophical pity on the grandeur of kings and the glory of heroes. Life is to them a painful struggle with Mara, the chief of demons. All things are born but to suffer and to die. Even death does not, without the aid of Buddha's wisdom, extricate them from the wheel of successive births and deaths in the wider world, of which this world forms a part. From this evil destiny, the Nirvana sets them free for ever. The wise course for a man to take is to aim at the attainment of the Nirvana during his present life by moral and monastic methods, so as to be extricated now from the "Samsara" or world of delusions.

The northern Buddhist nations are seven, and the southern three. The Tibetans and Mongols gave up their old religion when they became Buddhists. The worship of non-Buddhist divinities, and the faith of wizards, which they formerly had, was exchanged for Buddhism, with its hope of the Western Paradise and its Nirvana. The most educated amongst these nations are the Lamas; and it is their duty to read the Buddhist metaphysics. They accept the Buddhist denial of the reality of the world, and with it they receive the Nirvana, its proper accompaniment. The inferior Lamas and the common Tibetans and Mongols believe in the metempsychosis, and in the heavens and hells, and other states required to complete the retribution which attends all human actions according to that doctrine. The belief in the souls of faithful worshippers being conveyed at death to the Paradise of "Amitabha" in the extreme west is very widely spread among these classes, and this doctrine tends very much to keep the Nirvana out of sight. The same is true of the Ghoorkas.

The Chinese faith in Buddhism has been very much kept in check by Confucianism. The spirit of that religion is highly sceptical. So also is the Buddhist metaphysical philosophy. Buddhism adapts itself with great readiness to this state of things. It has fictitious worlds of joy and misery for the credulous, and a series of bold negations for those who are fond of nihilism. On the whole the balance is on the side of unbelief. The deniers of the Buddhist hope

are in China bolder than its defenders. Still it is professed. The Chinese Buddhist looks for the Nirvana or for the western Paradise as the goal of his efforts. But he is rather shy of a controversy with the Confucianists, because they have on their side position, confidence, learning and imperial decrees. On his tombstone he does, however, express hope of the "Nirvana" or of the heaven of "Omito fo." At least his friends do so for him in monumental inscriptions. The rich Confucianist also after his death has priests invited by his family to perform funeral prayers for his quick release from the sufferings to which he may be subjected by the order of "Yama," king of death, in the prisons of the Buddhist purgatory. As to the Nirvana, no Confucianist hopes for it.

The state of things in regard to hope of the future life is much the same in Corea and Japan. In Corea Confucianism is strong, as strong perhaps as in China, at least among the upper classes. Buddhism is there despised by the educated. In Japan, Buddhism is stronger because it was the favourite religion of the Sioguns. The Paradise of the Western Heaven was very much thought of in the time of their domination. It has influenced not a little the religious life of the people, who seem to look for future happiness in this form as a certainty. This at least is implied by inscriptions to be seen on many graves. Just as this hope has become definite, the expectation of the Nirvana has become dim. The Western Heaven once accepted, there was not much hope for the colder and more abstruse idea of the Nirvana. The Nirvana is a heaven devised by metaphysicians, the result of logical necessity, and the expectation of it, and the striving after it, are very much limited to metaphysical logicians.

Neither in China nor in Japan is the transmigration of the soul into an animal body at death entertained much as a serious article of faith. The flesh of animals is used for food commonly in both these countries with as little scruple as amongst ourselves. This is the case outside of the monastery. Some of the examples of the opinions held on this and other

connected subjects by monks themselves at the present time will be given further on.

The way is left open for a belief in heaven and hell in a manner more like the Christian doctrine. It is not difficult to observe, in the popular way of thinking on this subject, an approximation to the idea of a single abode of joy for the good, and a single abode of punishment for the wicked. The popular consciousness has shaped out a niche into which the Western Paradise of "Amitabha" fits aptly. Among the Buddhist hells the eighteenth is the most spoken of. The Buddhism of Cochin China may be looked on as an offshoot of Chinese Buddhism. Amongst the three Southern Buddhist nations the transmigration of souls is probably much more believed among the people than in the north. The Buddhists of Ceylon, Birmah, and Siam have this doctrine as an article of faith and universal education. With it is joined the Nirvana. There is no Western Paradise. They have not among them the same appetite for the sensuous that is found among the nations of more temperate climates. They are more readily content with annihilation. This is perhaps a result of listlessness of nature. More sinewy and vigorous races are not so pleased, as they are, to be extinguished in the Nirvana. Hence, the effort of the Northern Buddhists to attain a Paradise where a certain conscious existence is enjoyed, need not surprise us.

From this brief statement of the different views held on the immortality of the soul by the Buddhist nations it plainly appears that the treatment of the immortal hope that ever springs up freshly in the human soul by a mode of argument mainly metaphysical has been to a large extent suicidal. The hope itself has become in many cases suffocated by dry discussion respecting it. Unless the argumentative faculties are in a most vigorous condition, the hope expressed by the doctrine of Nirvana becomes nothing better than passive resignation to be extinguished. Those, also, who are by their natural gifts and metaphysical training able to enter with any sort of zeal into the attempt at reaching the Nirvana, are so few, that this form of the hope

of immortality becomes useless as a stimulus to virtue on any large scale, nor does it afford any adequate satisfaction to the human soul in its longings after higher life and knowledge. The Nirvana is essentially abstruse and unreal, and not adapted to become a powerful element in a popular religion.

Yet it should not be inferred that the Buddhists of any of the ten nations have entirely abandoned it, even in those lands where it has the least practical influence. Some account will now be given of the way in which it is talked of by the Chinese Buddhists in their books still reprinted, and in the modern life of the monastery.

In "the Sutra of the Diamond and of the Good Law," the term "Nirvana" is explained as meaning destruction and salvation combined. The translator Hiuen Tsang further explains it as "round and still." This is still further described as complete in virtue and freedom from all checks to progress. Another writer adds that the Nirvana consists, not in the removal of entanglements only, but in final exit from the world of transmigrations. Another writer explains it as "joy and peace." This is a destiny, it is added, which the holy man and the common man may each share if they follow Buddha's method. He who enters the Nirvana is said to "arrive at the shore." "That" is in antithesis to my personality. "I" becomes lost in the objective. In this way of speaking, the moral Nirvana is exchanged for that of extinction of individuality and absorption in the universe. When this modification of the doctrine assumes definite shape, Buddhist writers like to introduce statements of reservation. For example, while the body of Buddha was consumed in flames, his doctrinal self (*fa shen*) exists for ever, and his wisdom and efficacious power cannot cease to be.

They also divide the limited Nirvana from the absolute Nirvana, or as they say, the Nirvana with a remainder, and the Parinirvana without a remainder. The former of these is realized in the cessation of all the entanglements and annoyances of the three worlds, and this is during the present life. The absolute Nirvana (Parinirvana) follows cremation and the loss of consciousness. The Nirvana

of present attainment has a knowledge of misery without being quite rid of it, breaks away from many evils without entire enfranchisement. The final Nirvana is that form which is preferred by the Mahayana school, so much favoured by the Northern Buddhists; and it follows the attainment of all kinds of merit and of wisdom, such as are illustrated in the actions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas.

The distinction of Nirvana as moral victory, from *Parinirvana* "annihilation," has come partly from a consideration of the need for reconciling the realized perfection found in Buddha and the Bodhisattwas during their life, with the absolute rest of death. Both are perfection, and the annihilation doctrine must not be so held as to endanger the recognition of the complete virtue of the reforming preacher, who has already attained rescue from temptation, and undertakes to show to others how they also may be free. The "Lotus Sutra" states that the Nirvana is not to be sought for myself alone. I must seek the Nirvana in the way that Buddha sought for it. He postponed it till he was a very old man in order that he might first save multitudes by leading the way to ultimate happiness. This is called Showing the Nirvana. So also the Bodhisattwa is represented as first having his mind fixed in contemplation on the Nirvana, and cultivates the virtues which render him successful in this course of benevolence. Then there is a third stage in his progress. He leads disciples on to the perception of the secret doctrine, and deliberately postpones his own entrance into the state of absolute perfection till he has placed them in safety. The fourth stage is his own entrance into the Nirvana after the expiration of the destined time assigned him at his own wish for aiding in the rescue of others from misery.

After this preliminary sketch, I shall proceed to show, from the Northern Buddhist literature, that the Nirvana means death, and that the peculiarity of the expressions made use of by the Buddhists when speaking of it arose from a desire to ennoble and glorify the death of their great religious guide, Shakymuni Buddha.

The doctrine of Nirvana is very much connected in the life of Buddha with the phenomena and experiences of death. Perhaps this circumstance has not been sufficiently kept in view by European students of the Buddhist teaching on the Nirvana.

The usual translation of the Sanskrit word "Nirvana" in the Chinese translations is *mie tu*, "destruction and salvation." The idea is that salvation is found in extinction. Death is viewed as a glorification. Death coming to a good man is looked at with an honorific feeling. Its painful features should be covered over with well-rounded phrases. The frequency with which the term *mie tu* occurs is proof of the correctness of the statement, that the Nirvana is another name for death. It is *eîðavaσia*. It is the triumph of ascetic life over the body. The body, says the Buddhist, is impregnated with the principles of evil, and in the Nirvana evil is finally conquered. The hero who holds the refined doctrines of the Buddhist metaphysics cannot be supposed by any man who is in sympathy with them to be capable of being vanquished in the struggle with matter. The Buddhist ascetic easily subjugates the body. Whatever happens to it, he retains dominion over it. Even when the body dies, the ascetic still triumphs. His confidence in the permanent certainty of the doctrines in which he believes is not weakened by death. Belief in the Nirvana thus seems to be the assurance felt that in death the highest possible condition of the soul is attained.

Here there is need of care in the use of certain terms. In the Nirvana there is no life, no death, no present, no future. We must not then speak of the Nirvana as a higher life, that would be to say that living is a permanent state. This the Buddhist must carefully avoid. Consciousness must not be predicated of the soul, nor must the soul be imagined as having individual existence or any realized independent life. This would be to transgress the fundamental ideas of Buddhism.

In the use of terms we must allow a certain freedom to the Buddhist logician. Then let us judge of the doctrines they

teach, in a perfectly fair and reasonable manner, taking phrases in the sense assigned to them by the Buddhist. But we need not be deterred by his airy metaphysics from the exercise of common sense in judging of the true meaning of the term Nirvana, and of the dogma that the world is unreal. A little actuality, a little realism introduced into the discussion of the true meaning of the Nirvana, and of the dogma of the non-reality of all things, will help us greatly. To understand Buddhism as a religion having popular power, we must remember that the world is real after all, and must also allow ourselves to regard death as the Nirvana. The world must still be to us visible, tangible and audible.

The Buddhist Sutras are intensely realistic. Thus, the great Nirvana Sutra contains in its descriptions of Buddha's death minute details of a material kind. The assembly that gathered to witness the death of Buddha was so deeply moved, it is said, with grief, that all raised their hands and struck their breasts. They wept loudly and bitterly. Their limbs and finger joints all quivered with emotion. They could not contain themselves. All the minute pores of their bodies gave forth blood, which was sprinkled on the ground.

The last food eaten by Buddha was offered by Chunda, an artisan of Kushinagara. When the assembly knew that Buddha had consented to receive his offering and partake of the food, all were filled with delight. They said to him. "You are like the moon on the fifteenth day when it is full, and the sky is clear without a cloud. Just as all look up at the moon with admiration, so do we look up to you, because Buddha has made his last meal of the food you offered. Honour to you, Chunda, whose body is that of a man, but whose heart is like that of Buddha. You are now a son of Buddha, just as Rahula is his son." Chunda was delighted, and leaped with joy. His feeling was like that of a man, who, his father and mother having died, saw them suddenly restored to life.

When Buddha was about to die, the intelligence was widely spread, and the phrase employed to indicate it was

that he was at once about to enter the Nirvana. Here follows an example of the language made use of. "Joo lai, being about to enter the Nirvana, all the Devas and their companies of followers came to pay their respects and offer gifts. Only Brahma did not come. The assembly was much grieved, and recited Gathas to express their thought. Buddha then, by the exercise of his marvellous power, caused the creation of some of those beings whose nature is hard and indestructible as the diamond. They, revealing their great energy, caused three thousand worlds to shake as they ascended to the palace of Brahma. To him they said, 'How mad and foolish you are! Buddha is about to enter the Nirvana. Why do you not go?' They then made use of their unconquerable strength, symbolized by the name diamond, to point out to him the true state of things. Brahma then went to the place where Buddha and the assembly were gathered.

"Buddha, as he lay, pillowed his head on the north, pointed with his feet to the south, directed his face toward the west, and had his back toward the east. Joo lai, in the middle of the night, quietly, and without a sound, at this hour went into the Nirvana. There were four pairs of the Sara tree growing there. As he entered into the Nirvana, the two pairs of trees on the east and west united and became one tree. So also the two pairs of trees on the north and south became one tree, letting fall a magnificent canopy, which overwhelmed Buddha as he lay. They changed to a white colour to indicate their sorrow, looking white as storks. The great assembly uttered loud sounds of lamentation, which shook the surrounding worlds.

"Then all the people hastened into the city. There they made a gold coffin ornamented with the seven precious things, and also banners and canopies of sandal wood, flowers and other fragrant things. These they brought and presented as their offerings. The multitude after this, weeping, lifted Buddha into the coffin. They then appointed four strong bearers to carry the coffin into the city. They could not lift it. Sixteen were then appointed, but they also

failed to lift it. Then Aniruddha said to the bearers, 'If all the people in the city were to join in the lifting it, they would not succeed, we must obtain the assistance of the Devas.' Before he had finished these words, Indra Shakra appeared, holding a splendid canopy hanging in the air. A multitude of Devas arrived with Indra offering service. Then Buddha felt pity and raised himself in the air in the coffin to the height of a Tala tree.¹ The coffin of itself entered the West Gate, and came out by the East. It then entered the South Gate, and came out by the North. It went round the city seven times, slowly moving in the air, till it reached the place of burial."

"Buddha entered the Nirvana on the 15th of the 2nd month. On the 22nd, when he was about to leave the coffin, the weeping crowd lifted him out and placed him on the couch of the seven precious things. Here he was bathed with fragrant water, and his body wrapped round from head to foot with embroidered cloth, and white satin. He was then replaced in the coffin, which was lifted upon an elevated frame made of fragrant wood. The multitude of those who held fragrant torches and proceeded to stand round the coffin then all entered the state of destruction."

Then follows an account of Buddha raising himself in the coffin on the seventh day after his death to pay respects to his mother. She came from the Tanti Paradise to weep. The coffin was opened. Buddha rose, joined his hands, and said, 'You have come down from a distant Paradise.' He also said to Ananda, 'You should know that it is for an example in after-times to those who are not filial that I have now left my coffin to ask respecting the health and peace of my mother.'

Enough has been given to show the strong realistic form into which the entrance to the Nirvana of Shakyamuni has been worked by the northern school of his disciples. Buddha's resurrection and the performance by him of magical feats after his death may be taken to show that in a certain way

¹ Tala, the palmyra palm. As a measure of length, seventy feet.

he was supposed still to be possessed of consciousness. Realistic views would lead to this. The belief in the universal presence of Buddha in nature as an inherent divinity manifesting himself in the successive phenomena of the physical world would naturally follow such descriptions. To the popular mind of Mongolia Buddha is a powerful divinity who exercises a providence over the world. To the strict Buddhist trained in the metaphysical doctrine of his creed this is an impossibility. Consciousness is lost in the Nirvana. But among the multitude, realism triumphs over metaphysical opinion, and Buddha is regarded as a mighty living power.

This view may throw light on the question raised a few years ago by Professor Max Müller. He stated that the Nirvana means spiritual freedom, and is not inconsistent with a belief in the continued existence of the soul. In the Nirvana we have an esoteric doctrine for the learned who have adopted the opinion that the body and the visible world are delusive, and try to convince themselves that life itself and all its pleasures are not worth having. In the popular belief we have a Nirvana of Victory over moral evil with an esoteric faith in the reality of the world, and of Buddha as a powerful God capable of being addressed in prayer and affording protection to every devotee. But the objection may be raised that the metaphysical view is the only genuine Buddhist orthodoxy. If so, it will be difficult to maintain that Buddha can in any proper sense be said to be living after his entrance into the Nirvana. The Nirvana is "destruction." It is rescue from the state of alternate living and dying to which mortals are exposed. To live is to suffer. Not to live is to be happy. But the belief in metempsychosis makes of death not the extinction of an unhappy existence, but only the door to another form of it. Therefore the Nirvana is made the escape from death as well as life. Death is not a cure for human misery. The Nirvana is so, because it is a permanent state of rest in unconsciousness.

The Hindoo race is fond of metaphysical dogma. The

nations north of India are not so. To them the metempsychosis is not a strongly pronounced belief. To disbelieve in the actuality of the world is against their better judgment. There is not much depth in the convictions, if they are so to be called, of the Northern Buddhist on this point. He is obliged to accept it dogmatically, but in his explanation he shows that his faith is rather in the destructibility of matter, and in its changeableness, than in its non-reality.

So in regard to the present state in which Buddha is believed to be, the Northern Buddhist mind cares little or not at all for the abstract dogma that entire freedom from life and from death is the only perfect condition. The way is open for the belief that he exists. This is specially so in regard to Amitabha, the guiding Buddha, who is represented as residing in the regions of the "pure land," "*tsing too*." The Buddhist does not limit himself to any strictly self-consistent scheme which might require the denial of the existence of the Buddhas because they have entered the Nirvana. He makes a Buddha wherever he pleases, and invents a universe on paper, in which he may display his qualities and powers as a mediator. He regards Buddha as a divinity possessed of power to save. Every invocation "Omīto Fo" is a recognition of the present agency of this Buddha, whose help in saving may be obtained by prayer.

The legend of Omīto melts away indeed under investigation, and is sacrificed by the Buddhist without regret. It is a means to an end. That end is spiritual and moral improvement. Any legend that would help the devotee equally well on the path of progress would be equally welcome. This and every other legend in the Sutras is intended to aid in contemplative devotion.

The early compilers of the Sutras and Shastras made Buddhism abstruse and metaphysical. The promoters of popular Buddhism have made it more like what the part it was to perform as one of the world's great religions required it to be. If the first is orthodox Buddhism, the second is practical Buddhism. The orthodox form is abstruse and dim. It fails in clearness, intelligibility and

impressiveness. The second is suited for the ordinary class of believers. It deals in images of clay, symbols, legends, masses for the dead, and so forth. It is better apprehended by the common mind. Practical Buddhism is found at the present time to be predominantly of this kind. If it be asked whether the common Buddhists of the present day understood by the Nirvana anything else than an honorific description of death, it must be answered that many of them do not. There is need here for some further elucidation of that practical aspect of the Buddhist Nirvana, which is of great importance, and to which the great unrivalled Pali scholar, Mr. R. C. Childers, has drawn attention in a fragmentary note, followed by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1877. The Nirvana is an ideal moral perfection attained gradually by progressive advance in the Buddhist virtues and steady perseverance in contemplation. The life of the ascetic approaches gradually nearer to the Nirvana.

He makes use of the doctrine of the Nirvana as a means to approximate towards moral perfection, and in doing so he rises upward towards the final Nirvana, his progress being in proportion to his self-knowledge and self-improvement.

The practical use of the doctrine of Nirvana, as of all Buddhist doctrine, is to assist in contemplative moral training. For example, Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood, the Devas, the rules of discipline and alms-giving, are, in the Nirvana Sutra, called the six subjects of meditation. They lead to six different developments, viz. the merciful moral teacher (Buddha), the mother Buddha of the past, present and future (Law), the field of happiness cultivated by men and Devas (Priesthood), long life and great joy (Devas), purity in body and mind (resulting from discipline), and relief to the poor and distressed (alms-giving).

In the course of meditation prescribed by the Nirvana Sutra it is said that there are six things rare to attain. They are, (1) to be born in the age when Buddha appears, (2) to hear the correct doctrine proclaimed, (3) to exhibit the true spirit of almsgiving, (4) to be born in the country

Magadha,¹ (5) to receive at birth a human body, (6) to have the five senses, with the powers of body and mind all complete.

The course of Buddhist thought is marked by a scholastic spirit which delights in numerical categories. Thus, in the Nirvana Sutra, there are six objects that hold certain things. The earth holds living things, and things not living. Mountains hold the earth, and prevent it from falling to ruin. The eyes hold light. Clouds hold water. Men may hold the law. A mother holds a child.

The same Sutra details seven methods of moral improvement. They are the knowledge of the law, embracing the twelve principal sutras. The knowledge of the meaning of terms and doctrines found in Buddhist literature. The knowledge of the times to practise the six means of salvation, viz. alms-giving, monastic rules, patient endurance of insult, zeal in making progress, contemplation (Dhyana), wisdom (Pradjna). The knowledge how to feel content with the food, clothes, and medicines which are supplied. The knowledge of one's self in regard to faith and discipline. The knowledge of companions in reference to sitting, walking, coming, rising, exposition of doctrine, and catechizing. The knowledge of the distinction of high and low among disciples according to their amount of faith and goodness.

The same Sutra also treats of eight contradictions. These are purity, individuality, joy, permanence, and their contradictions, with a repetition of the same in a different order, the contradictions occurring first.

The Nirvana is at the top of an ascent mounted by successive steps. Thus to become a monk and abandon family life is the first step. To practise contemplation is the second step. Moral evil and disorder are thus abandoned. The acquisition of wisdom is the third step, and thus puts a stop to wrong thinking. The entrance to the Nirvana is

¹ Magadha is the modern Behar. It means the "Middle Kingdom." In the old nomenclature, Birmanah was eastern India, so that the lands watered by the Ganges, and its tributaries, were considered as Central India. The lands watered by the Indus, and its tributaries, were Northern India.

the fourth step, and thus extricates the ascetic from life and death.

When Childers claims for the word "Nirvana" two distinct meanings, one annihilation and the other moral perfection or sanctification, he perhaps asks too much, for we must find some way to unite them. Metaphysics constitutes the logical framework of Buddhism, and requires the Nirvana to mean annihilation. The ethical element is however its life, and may be called its flesh and blood.

Buddhism is a failure unless there is a victory over the passions. Entrance into the final Nirvana is impossible, its rest can never be attained, except there be first a successful struggle with the world's temptations. Now it is perhaps better to say that Buddhism is one, whether the view we take be predominantly metaphysical or predominantly practical. So of the Nirvana. It is, when described philosophically, a complete release from the whirl of life and death and all the miseries of the Samsara. It is, when described as a life, a gradual process of moral improvement, culminating in a sort of return to the Absolute.

Four methods are mentioned as helping towards the Nirvana. The first is to approximate to virtue by knowledge. The second is to listen to correct instruction. The third is to meditate on that instruction. The fourth is to act in accordance with professions made.

The four virtues of the Nirvana are stated to be permanent tranquillity, joy, entire freedom and purity. By the first of these, viz. tranquillity, change and death are rendered impossible. By the second, joy, outward misery and inward grief are avoided. By the third, self-acting freedom, a really virtuous heart acts spontaneously with no check from without or from within. By the fourth, purity, the three delusions lose their power, and the soul is freed from the tendency to transgress the ten chief prohibitions. The three delusions are, the delusions of the thoughts, of the world, and of ignorance. The ten prohibitions are against killing, stealing, adultery, lying, etc., including the last five of the Ten Commandments of the Bible.

The approach to the Nirvana is made by moral improvement. This may be illustrated by the following extract from the great Nirvana Sutra: "If a thievish dog entered a man's house by night, the servants of the house on becoming aware would drive him out, scold him and say, 'Go quickly out, or we will take your life.' The dog hearing will run away and not return. So should you treat the devil. Say to him, 'Do not put on this appearance any longer, for if you do you shall be bound with five ropes.' The devil hearing this will go away as the dog did and not return." Kashiapa replied to this speech of Buddha in the words, "If any one can in this way subdue the devil, he will come near to the Parinirvana." See Chapter vi. page 3.

So it appears that to gain conquests over the evil one is to approach the Nirvana. He who conquers resolutely and persistently arrives at a higher point in the road to perfection than others.

Sometimes the three virtues are spoken of; the words *mahaparinirvana* are explained, *maha* great, *pari* destroy, *nirvana* salvation. The first is the embodiment of the law, the second is the wisdom of the "Pradjna Paramita." The third is liberation. Elsewhere these three virtues are assigned to Buddha.

Nothing is omitted from the Nirvana. It is conceived of as perfect, and not only must fortitude, watchfulness, and constancy in the victory over evil be embraced in its circle of perfection, but it must also include the immense knowledge and beauty of complete wisdom supposed to inhere in the Buddha and Bodhisattwa.

The personal embodiment of the law in the moral character, and in the teaching of Buddha, his perfect wisdom, and his liberation of himself and his disciples from the clogs and bonds of a worldly spirit, are also, as in this instance, predicated of the Nirvana.

It may be well asked what could prevent the assignment of the same perfections to the Nirvana that are represented as belonging to Buddha. The Buddhist writers of the period when these views were taking form strove to exalt

the character of Buddha till it lost its personality and consisted of general characteristics. This was represented as taking place when he entered the Nirvana. The word "Buddha" is a state rather than a person. He who shows the way to the Nirvana is himself possessed ultimately of the same characteristics as is the Nirvana itself. Buddha is a hero with lion-like strength and bravery, who in an instant snaps the bonds that entangle him, and tramples over the most powerful temptations of the world. The goal of his victories is the Nirvana. The description then of the Nirvana, which is the state at which Buddha ultimately arrives, cannot essentially differ from that of Buddha when liberated at length at death from every bond of individuality. Terminating his material and mental existence, he becomes lost in the absolute state which is accounted the only real salvation.

The Nirvana then may be identified with Buddha. This can be seen in the *Kiau cheng fu shu*, chap. iii. p. 32. I say "may be," because I cannot point to the assertion in a Buddhist work that they are identical. In the criticism of an outsider they may be conveniently identified. In speaking of the death of a distinguished Buddhist, remarkable for a pure contemplative life, the Chinese would say indifferently that he has become Buddha, or that he has realized or entered the Nirvana. Such modes of speaking are used only of men who are noteworthy for Buddhist sanctity.

While considering the subject of the Nirvana, I have asked many priests in and out of Peking what they understood by it. While many somewhat ignorant priests have told me the Nirvana means death, or at best Buddha's death, a very learned priest said it is not death, but the state of non-existence and absolute deliverance from life and death. I reminded him that in China much is said of the peaceful land in the west, the world of supreme joy, and asked him, in the case of a priest who constantly meditated on this legend, if there was a greater probability of his going to that heaven in the west, than into the Nirvana. He refused to

admit that there was any such probability. I then asked him if some men would really become horses or donkeys in a future state. He would not consent to this, nor admit that there was any reality in Buddhist descriptions of metempsychosis. Yet he avoided saying absolutely that there is no reality in them, and added that the essential point in all religions is virtuous conduct. As to dogmatic views on any subject, they are all very well for those who accept them, but they do not hold the same important place that is held by practical morality. He would not allow that he has any distinct faith in a future state, for himself or for his friends. He looked on any definite confidence of this kind as "sticking to form," which means clogged by material considerations, and corresponds to the use of the phrase "the letter" in St. Paul's writings, at least to some extent, as in 2 Cor. iii. 6, "not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." In the idealism of the Northern Buddhists, things are represented as "forms" *siang*. The phrase "sticking to forms" means to be under the controlling influence of things as they appear. Those who stick to form, therefore, are in a state of delusion, caused by the devil who leads us to believe that the phenomena produced by his magical power are real. Such is the clinging nature of this tendency to be deluded that it does not easily leave even the man who is engaged in contemplations on the Nirvana.

The moment he comes to have views too definite on what the Nirvana is, he may be said to be "sticking to form." Our delusion is great in proportion to the definiteness of our conceptions. This is how, as I think, the opinions of this priest, who is still living near Peking, should be explained. He has a great local reputation for Buddhist wisdom, but will not allow that he has written a book. On his table were piled several works, written by Chinese Buddhists once well known. He came back again and again to morality as the basis of the Buddhist system, and I left him with the feeling that his view of the reality of a future state is very dim indeed, amounting almost to entire scepticism. One thing he

said was, "The soul is without form or substance. How can it be said to have a future state? How can anything distinct be affirmed of it after death?"

He declines therefore to say whether there is a future life or not.

The Chinese Buddhist monks read in childhood the Confucian books as well as their own. This may account for the prominence assigned to morality by this priest.

Another priest I lately conversed with was less combative in argument than this priest, and less sceptical with regard to dogma. He is fifty-five years of age, and was received into the priesthood with eighty others when a youth, at a temple near the northern west gate of Peking. In that temple he says there was a very unworldly ascetic old man, who had risen so entirely above the world that he was quite sure of entering the Nirvana. As to ordinary priests, he thought they will have to go through the long purifying process of the metempsychosis first. The ascetic he referred to as not needing any further trial or purification was occupied with the thought of Buddha, and so entirely devoted to his contemplations that there could be no doubt with regard to him.

I asked this priest, "Will you be burnt after death, or buried without burning?" He replied that it was his own wish to be burnt, and consequently it will be done. This is the case usually. The dying priest himself decides if he shall be burnt or not. I asked him what was the Nirvana. He replied, "It is neither life nor destruction." "Will you after death see the Shakyamuni Buddha?" He replied, "Yes, certainly, but not with the body. It will be by means of the 'Buddha nature' that I shall be able to see his Buddha nature." "But," I asked, "is not the metempsychosis real?" "Yes," he answered, "certainly it is. There can be no doubt about it. The calamities and good fortune that fall to the lot of men are proof of it. Why should some men be rich and others poor? It can only be from the secret operation of causes originating in the acts of former lives." He added that a rich man if he act ill will lose his riches in the next life,

and that if a man had in a former life mixed elements in the quality of his actions, some being good and others evil, he will in the present life have a corresponding character, and be upon the whole a man of mild and moderate temper.

From this instance it appears that moral goodness is that which prepares men for the Nirvana, and that the ascent to that highest state is accomplished by first proceeding through the lower in the path of progress. These lower steps are in this world or in other parts of the metempsychosis, which it will be remembered extends over the six regions of life known as Devas, men, animals, giants, hungry ghosts, and hell.

On the whole it may be said respecting the views held on the Nirvana by the Northern Buddhists that they comprehend all varieties. They have a popular teaching, and a higher Gnosis. They teach the metempsychosis, but do not insist on it. If it suits your state of mind, well. They will show you how by Buddha's wisdom you may reach the final escape from the delusion of existence in which you are enthralled, and leaving the sea of misery arrive at the Nirvana's peaceful shore. The means are found in moral reformation and contemplative devotion.

But if you are sceptical, they have a higher Gnosis, the Mahayana. You must submit to a pitiless argument to prove that nothing exists which men think exists, and that annihilation is desirable. You must learn to look on life itself as painful. The moral feelings and convictions are founded on an intellectual weakness. Love, piety, and benevolence are but delusive elements in the great delusive whole to which the unenlightened at present belong. In proportion as you can recognize this, do you approximate to the Nirvana, for in that there is no distinction of life and death, or of good and evil.

But then comes again the inextinguishable consciousness of future existence. The disciple will not be content with this pitiless logic, and the Mahayana finds for him a suitable doctrine, that of the western Paradise. The Buddhist teacher will not allow that imperfection exists in Buddha's teaching.

Those who long for heaven have a heaven provided for them. This is, however, only a means to an end. The higher Gnosis knows only annihilation, and bases it only on what is held by its advocates to be metaphysical necessity. Should another objector appear and say that the Nirvana is attainable now, and that not only did Buddha himself reach this state, but that all those who give themselves to a life of pure devotion and fixed contemplation may attain it, the upholders of the Mahayana consent to this, but add that it is merely a temporary and limited Nirvana, which is preliminary to that which they hold to be final.



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THE
BUDDHIST CAVES OF AFGHANISTAN.

BY
WILLIAM SIMPSON.



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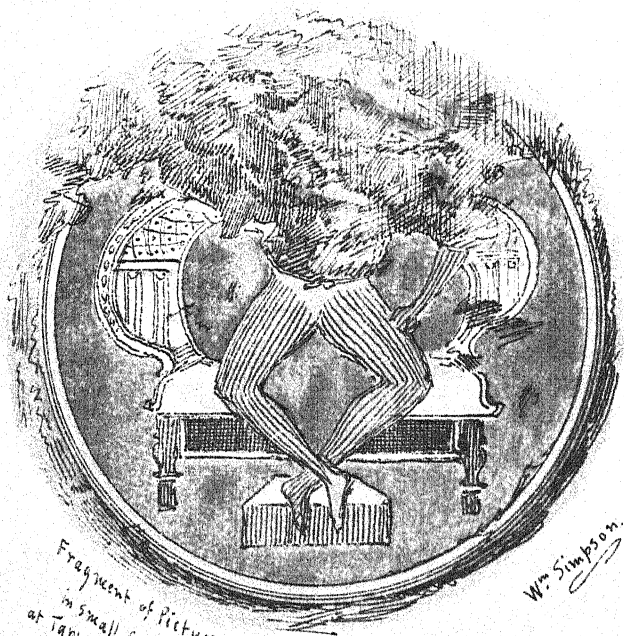
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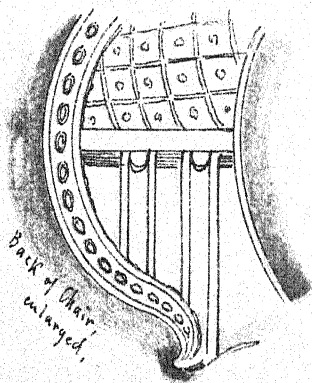
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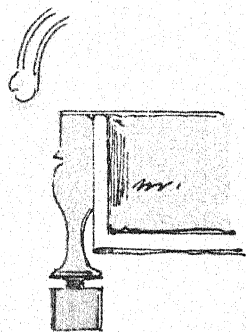


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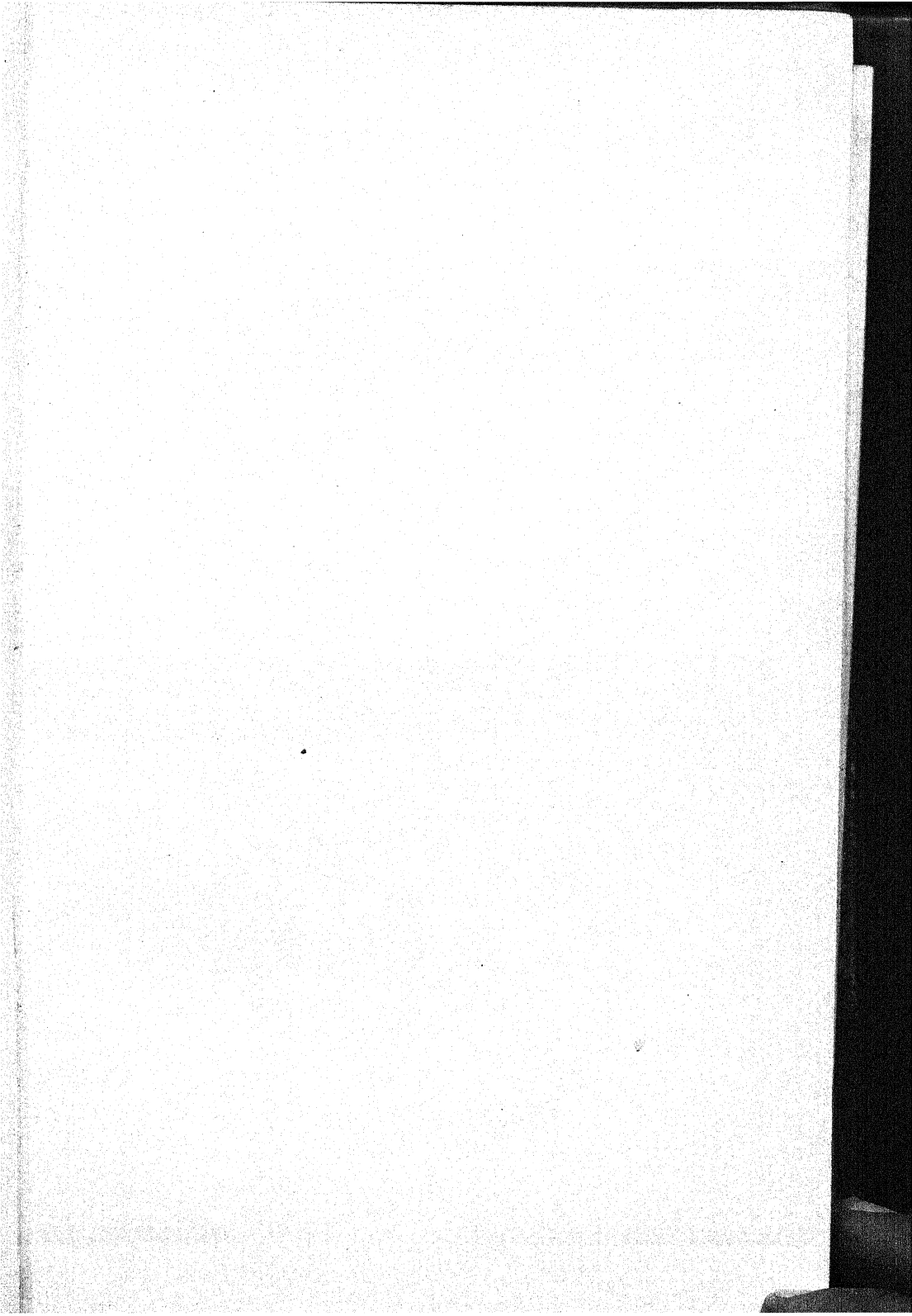
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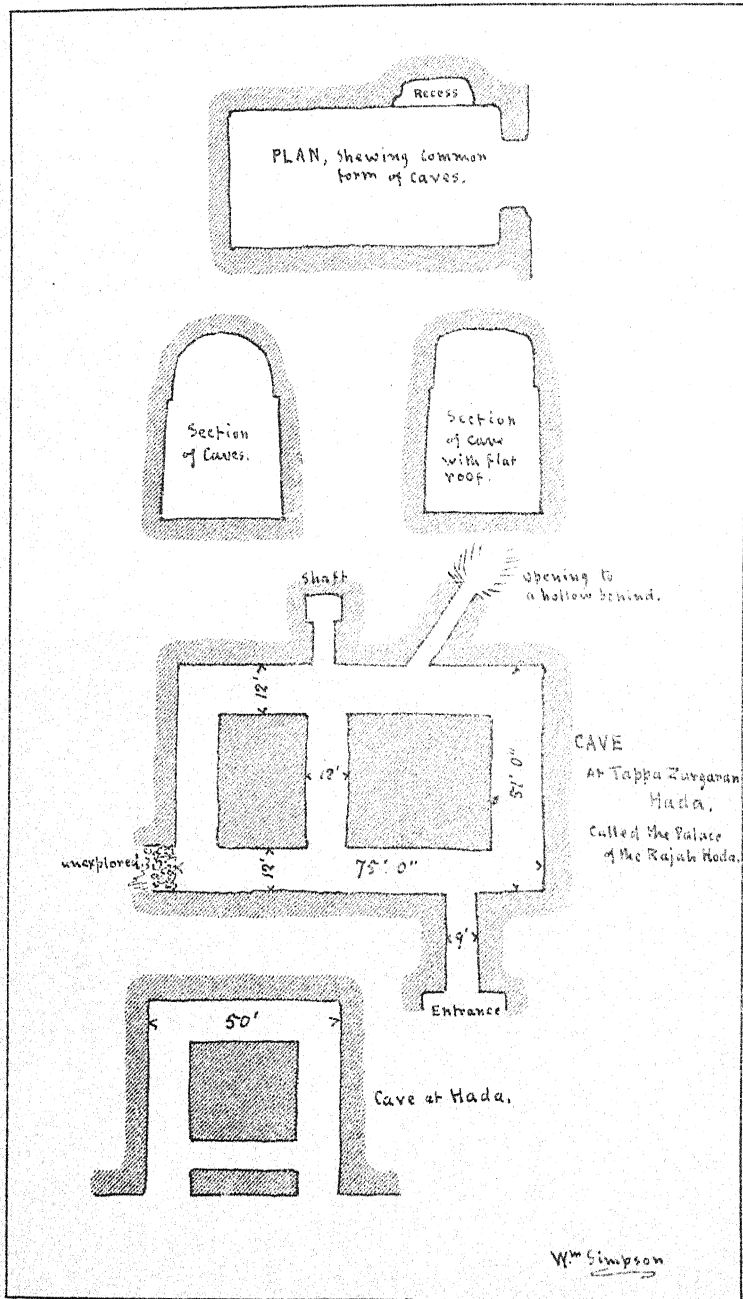


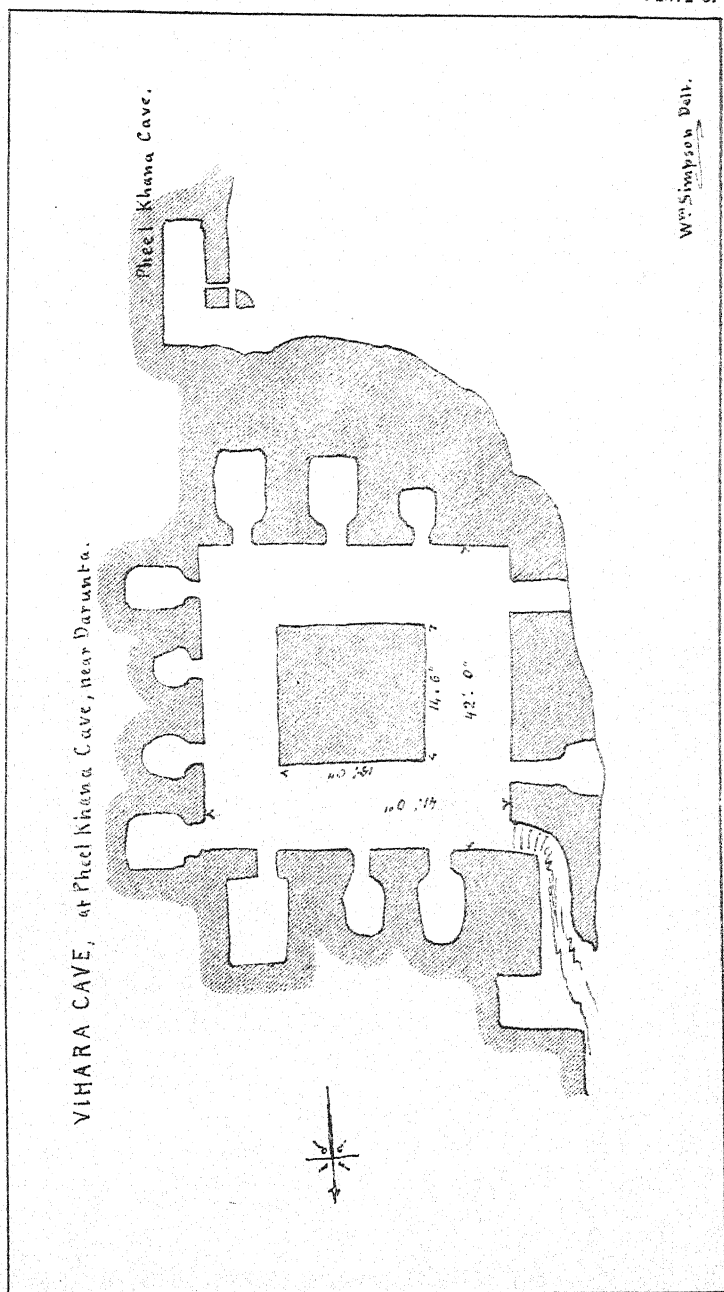
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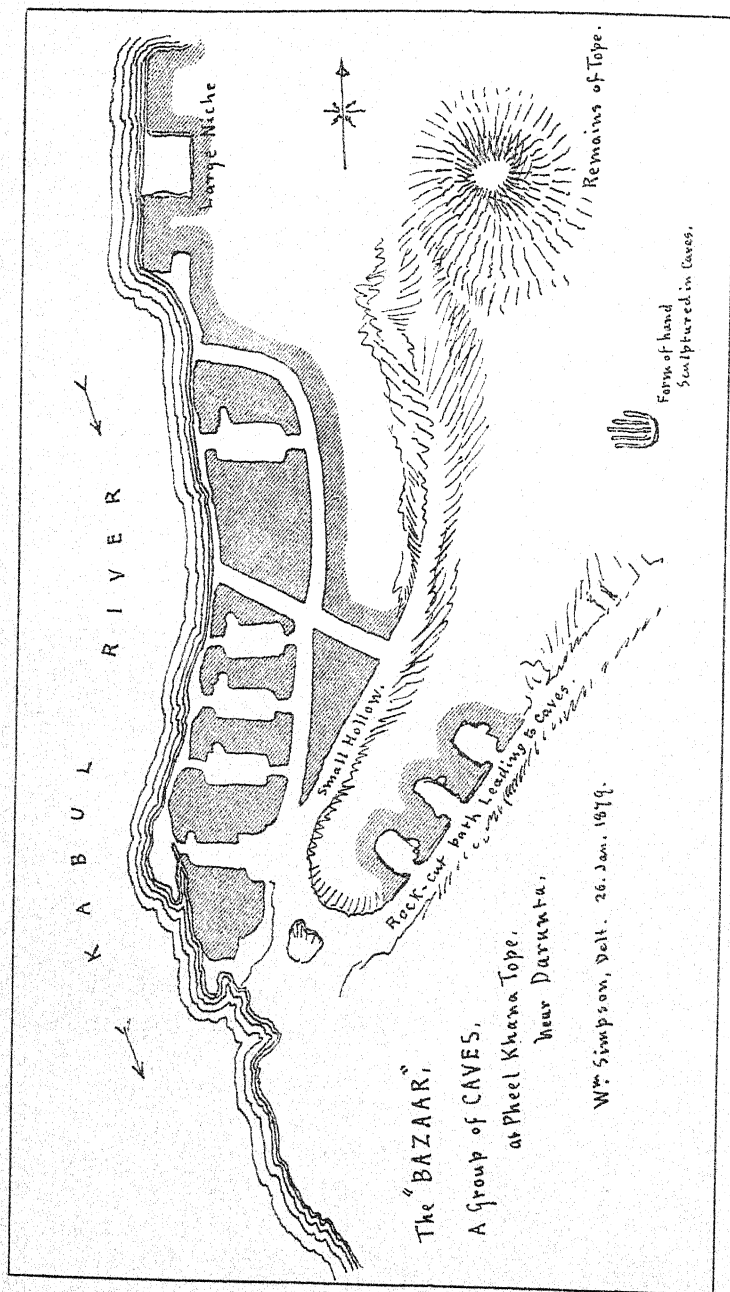
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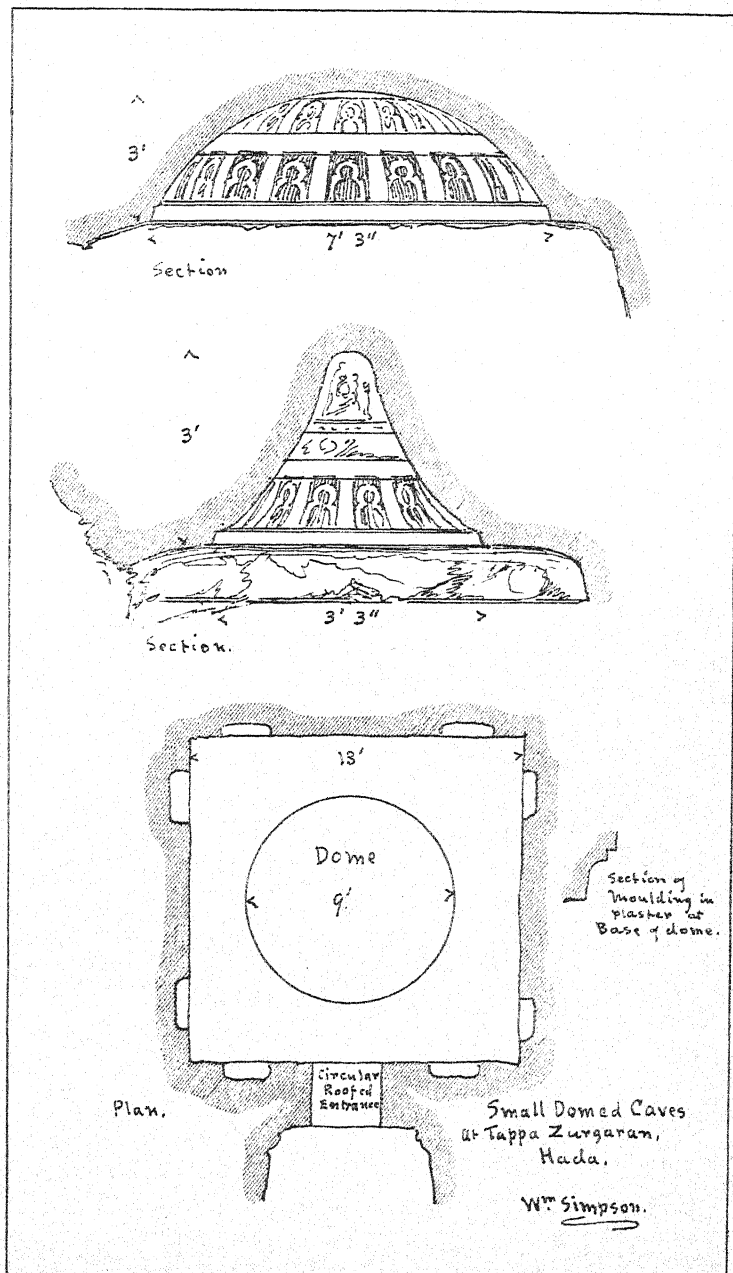




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THE BUDDHIST CAVES OF AFGHANISTAN.

By WILLIAM SIMPSON.

IN going through the Khyber Pass I saw numerous recesses in the rocks which struck me as places which might have been used by ascetics, but they indicated no signs of having been excavated, hence nothing definite could be assumed regarding them. In the scarp under the Ishpola Tope there is one of these rude niches which would be a very desirable spot for a holy man to retire to, who wished to give up the things of this world, but who at the same time had some intention that his light should not be hid under a bushel, for if an ascetic ever made it his residence, every passer-by must have seen him, high above the road, with little more than a fair allowance of space in which to sit cross-legged. From the immense number of caves I afterwards saw which had been excavated, indicating that a very large monastic population had existed, I have now little doubt that during the fervour of asceticism in the Buddhist period, most of these rocky niches had been thus occupied at one time or another. At Daka there are a few caves which have been excavated, but they are little more than holes.

It was at Basawul, the next march beyond Daka, that we came upon the first large group of caves. They may number about one hundred, and have been excavated, close to the village of Chicknoor, at varying heights along the base of a rocky hill, known as the Koh-be-Doulut, or "The Worthless Mountain," for nothing will grow on its steep rocky sides. This is on the left bank of the Kabul River, and I was indebted to General Macpherson for the means of crossing to see them. A large raft floating on inflated bullock-hides was procured, and on it, a party, including the General and a guard of Ghoorkhas, were ferried over. The Pushtoo word for cave is *sumutch*, but pronounced very

nearly as if written *smutch*; the natives previous to our going over had given us a wonderful account of these caves; describing them as extending far into the mountain, a hundred miles and more, we were told, and that through one of them there was a road to Kashmir. They also stated that many of them were inhabited, and that the people kept large flocks in them. From these statements some of the officers took over lanterns so as to be able to explore these labyrinthine recesses, and revolvers were not forgotten in case of attack. It was rather remarkable to receive such extravagant accounts with the caves themselves within sight. A traveller passing along might have learnt all this, and recounted it again in perfect good faith, and the marvellous caves of Chicknoor might have been much talked about.

A visit across the river dispelled the illusion. There was not a living thing found in any of them, and their extent was limited to about 20 or 30 feet of penetration into the rock; they were all very similar, each having a circular roof, from which they might be described as not unlike a series of small railway arches, their width being perhaps 10 or 12 feet. In one case two of the caves were connected by a passage behind, but the passage was not longer than the caves themselves. These excavations might be divided into two groups, the largest being at the east end of the Koh-be-Doulut, near to Chicknoor; the caves here were probably the oldest, for some of them were in a very dilapidated condition,—while on those higher up the river a few fragments of plaster were visible. Although we found no one in the caves, it turned out that the Koochis, who are a migratory tribe with camels and flocks, come down to the lower regions in the winter, and occupy the caves, leaving them again about April. In some parts of the Jelalabad valley we found a large population of these people in Caves, and the result has been not only the destruction of the plaster, but also the blackening of it, so that all inscriptions, paintings, or colour of any kind, wherever it existed, has in almost every case ceased to be visible. This is much to be regretted; the Caves seem to have been all

covered with plaster; many of them were no doubt painted, but of this only some few remains were found, the little that is left suggesting, however, that a great quantity of valuable material has been destroyed by the Koochis utilizing the Caves.

As the Afghanistan Caves were all but new to me, it was necessary to be careful in coming to any conclusion as to who their constructors had been. At first, that is, so far as the Chicknoor Caves threw light on the subject, the origin of the Caves was far from being evident. The Koochis living in these recesses with their flocks made it possible that they had been excavated for dwelling in; this was the general idea among the party who had gone over to see them. I rather suspected their Buddhist origin, and the repetition of the circular roof in them all, as well as their uniform size and shape, led me to think that some type had been rigidly followed as a pattern. It struck me that if they had been originally constructed as habitations, more variety would have been given to them from the varied requirements of different individuals. It was only after seeing the vast quantity of Caves in the Jelalabad valley, that their origin became a certainty in my mind. Their constant association with topes, and mounds of Buddhist remains, made it evident that there was some connection between them. In almost every case where there was a scarp of rock under the mounds, Caves existed in it; and as in most cases the Topes had been erected on elevated spots, there were few remains near which the Caves were not found. The remains of structural Viharas could often be distinguished from that of the Topes, and it may be a point worth noting, that Caves and Viharas existed together.

What these two very different kinds of residences implied I cannot pretend to determine; but they naturally suggest that some point of distinction is indicated. It is quite possible that they have a chronological sequence; that the Monks dwelt in Caves at first, and that the Viharas came into use afterwards; or the opposite may have been the case. Unfortunately, from the decayed condition of the Caves, and the complete demolition of the Viharas, nothing can as yet be said as to the probable date of either. There is another question which

often came into my mind when on the spot, and that was as to whether the Caves or the Topes had come into existence first. It may have been that, when a Tope was erected, the Caves and Viharas were constructed for the attendant Monks; or it is equally possible, and if anything I think it is the most likely of the two theories, that the Caves and the Monks first existed at these spots, and that, if any of them attained to a high reputation for sanctity, he would most probably have been honoured with a Tope containing his ashes, and thus begun the group above, which is now represented by the mound. Beyond a surmise of this kind, I have no evidence to offer on the subject.¹

There were some marked exceptions as to the form of the Caves, but the great mass of them were similar to those at Chicknoor;—they are simply oblong recesses, and in nearly every case with a circular roof. They vary in dimensions, but as an average size I would say they are about 20 ft. in length, 10 feet wide, and about 12 feet high (see *plate 2*). In a great many of them there was a small rude recess cut on one side, on the level of the floor, or only a few inches above it. From their size, these recesses suggested that their purpose had been for sleeping in, and from their rough, irregular appearance, it is possible that they were not excavated at the same time as the Caves; if this has been the case, it would imply a change at some time in the habits, or rules, of the Monks who dwelt in them. In this I assume that these Caves were used as cells by the ascetics, but from what I have seen of the Buddhists in Tibet, and elsewhere, I have no doubt but each Cave would be at the same time a place in which religious services would be performed, and that pilgrims and pious individuals would visit them on account of the sanctity of their inmates. The Caves, although small, were, we may suppose, much larger than the cells of the ordinary Viharas, and were therefore capable of being

¹ Hiouen-Tsang, in *Vie et Voyages*, p. 274, and in the *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 214, describes two chambers cut in the rock of Khavandha, near the Pamir plateau. In each chamber there was a *Lo-han*, or Arhat, "plongé dans l'extase complete." So far as this example goes, it indicates that each Cave would be the habitation of one monk.

used as chapels. According to Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, the space allowed for the Buddhist ascetics of Ceylon was 12 spans long by 7 spans wide,—now that would be about the size of the recesses just described. If I recollect right, the Caves of Ceylon are single, like those in Afghanistan, thus contrasting in their arrangement with the groups round a larger central Cave, such as we find in Western India. The oldest Caves in India are those near Buddha Gaya in Bengal, and they are also of the single kind; showing that this was the first type in use by the Buddhist ascetics. The groups round a central cell, or chapel, now known as "Vihara Caves," were a later development; it thus becomes evident that if the Afghanistan Caves were derived from India, it must have been at an early date, when the single cell was the rule. The great resemblance between the Afghanistan Caves and those at Buddha Gaya suggests that there had been a following of the model either on the one side or the other, and one naturally concludes that the Bengal group is the oldest. As our knowledge of dates in the one case is a blank, this can only be put as an assumption, and we must wait with patience in hopes that further light may be brought to bear on the subject.¹

The Caves of India were derived, so far as their forms are concerned, from the wooden architecture of the period, and the early examples of Barabar and Rajgir are no exceptions to the rule; in the case of those last named this is evident from the doorway of the Lomas Rishi Cave, in which the wooden forms are very beautifully copied in the rock. From this it is assumed that the circular roof of that Cave, as well as of the others in the same locality, were derived from the round wooden roofs of the houses of the period, and as this circular roof is common to the Afghanistan Caves, it becomes an evidence in favour of the idea that the Bengal type was the model which had been carried to the North-West. There are other links of evidence in addition to this. In some of

¹ In the Bengal Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. i. p. 48, General Cunningham says that an inscription in the Viswa Mitra Cave, at Barabar, gives the date of its dedication in the 12th year of the Raja Priyadasi, or Asoka, or 252 B.C.

the Bengal Caves there is a drip under the circular roof, and this I found in one of the Caves at Hada. To this there is still another feature of identification;—in the doorway of the Lomas Rishi Cave it will be noticed that the jambs slope inwards above; this is also found at Bhaja and among the older of the Western Caves. The peculiarity belongs also to the remains of Buddhist Architecture in Afghanistan, and in the Cave at Tappa Zurgaran at Hada, where the plaster remained in some parts in a tolerably perfect state, and where the drip just mentioned was quite perfect,—the inward slope of the walls upwards was also a distinct feature (see section of Cave in *plate 2*). It may be mentioned that some of the Caves had flat roofs, but these were the exception,—as an instance there is one in a group, near to Darunta; the group is called, from there being a number of Caves connected by a very long communicating tunnel, the “Bazaar,” to be afterwards described. The roof in this case may perhaps have been originally very slightly curved in the centre, it is connected with the perpendiculars on each side by a well-defined curve, the whole outline of the roof appearing to be a very flat ellipse. I have a section of a roof from a small Cave at Tappa Zurgaran which is of this form (see section in *plate 2*).

I came upon only one Cave which resembled the Rock-cut Viharas of Western India. This is in the same cliff as the Pheel-Khana Cave, to which it adjoins. There was a stair which led up to the Cave, which is now all but gone, some worn remains of a few of the steps are still to be seen; a large square chamber has been formed, about 42 feet by 41 feet: a large square mass has been left as a support in the centre, 14 feet square. On three sides there are cells, three on two of the sides and four on the other, making ten in all, and on the fourth side there are two apertures which open out to the cliff to let in light. The whole Cave is very rudely formed,—a cornice perhaps existed round the central support, but it is all so rough, this is uncertain; the cells are, if anything, still ruder,—the better formed ones being round in the roof like the other Caves of the region,—some of them being little better than holes; still these recesses, primitive as they are,

are very different from those in the other Caves already described,—the difference consisting in their greatest dimension being at right angles to the Cave, and in their widening out in the inside, this giving them the character of a *cell* in contradistinction to a *recess*. This peculiarity of the cells, as well as the general character of the whole Cave, led me to the idea that it had been excavated from a description by some one who had seen the Vihara Caves of Western India. If this is the case, it gives us a limit for the antiquity of its date.

On the right of this Cave is the one known in the present day as the Pheel-Khana Cave, and which gives the name used by the natives to the whole group of Caves, mounds, and remains of at least one Tope,—the “Tope Gudara” of Masson. This Cave is so exceptional in its character that it might be doubted if it belonged to the Buddhists, for none of the peculiarities of their excavations are found in it. It has a large opening, perhaps about 20 feet high, narrow at the top and wide below, like a pointed Gothic arch, only these words suggest an architectural character which would mislead in this case; the Cave turns from the entrance at right angles to the south, from which there is a narrow passage to the outside, where it meets a similar passage from the entrance. The place is large enough to have kept an elephant, which is implied by its name, which is “Elephant House”; and as the site for Nagarahara, the ancient capital of the district, which I have proposed, was on the other side of the Kabul River,¹ exactly opposite, it is quite possible that in former times it may have been used for this purpose. A plan of the Vihara and the Pheel Khana Cave is given in *plate 3*.

Judging by the remains at this place, there must have been a large colony of Monks about it during the Buddhist period. On the west side there is a high cliff overhanging the Kabul River, and in the most prominent part of it there is a large niche, in which, I came to the conclusion, there had been at one time a colossal figure of Buddha. No remains of the

¹ See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1881.

statue are now visible, for it may have been formed only of mud and covered with a thin coating of *Chunam*, which was the material of which a fragment of a large figure was made I came upon in my explorations at the Ahin Posh Tope. The reason for supposing this niche had a figure in it, was owing to there being no means of reaching the recess. On the south of the niche are five Caves similar to the other Caves in this locality;—they were inaccessible from the river, so a long tunnel had been cut behind them, thus making a means of communication. As this tunnel with its openings into the Caves has the appearance of an underground street, it has received the name of the "Bazaar." There is a shorter tunnel which crosses the long one at an angle, and its object is not quite clear, but I think it may have been to give light to the larger tunnel, or it was formed as a passage to a balcony, or ledge, which had been cut in the cliff in front of the Caves. The remains of what I take to have been the ledge are so decayed that I can only put this as a guess, but the longest tunnel is continued beyond the last of the Caves, when it turns towards the river, and at this point the ledge still exists, and leads to a small recess in a corner of the cliff. If it existed thus far, the natural conclusion is that it went round to the front of the great niche where the figure of Buddha sat, so that the devotees could pass round and make their obeisance before it. This extension of the tunnel beyond the Caves shows that its principal object was not so much to lead to them as to the colossal statue. A plan of this curious group of Caves will be found in *plate 4*.

The rock is very soft sandstone, with layers of conglomerate, and the five Caves are excavated partly in both, the conglomerate being in the lower part of the Caves, and the sandstone above. The last, although very soft, has stood the effects of time better than the harder conglomerate, except in the roofs, where it has fallen down in flat masses. This made the original form of the roofs doubtful, but one of them I thought must have been flat, and has already been alluded to. The Caves may be about 12 or 13 feet wide and about 20 feet long, and each had the usual small recess on the

side. They must have formed very pleasant places to reside in, looking out over the river towards the Siah Koh, or Black Mountain, along the base of which there were numerous Topes and Viharas about a mile and a half distant.

Above these Caves, among many mounds and remains, is the Pheel Khana Tope, and still higher than it is another excavation which ought to be described. It is a rude, square niche, perhaps about 15 or 20 feet high. It has openings to the south and the west, so that the figure, which, from the height of the niche, I suppose to have been a standing one, could have been seen from the two sides. The niche presents no architectural features, unless it be that of the trefoil arch, so peculiar to the trans-Indus structures, and this was so very rudely done, that the intention of the maker might pass unnoticed. In this niche were some hands, of a very primitive style of art, cut in the soft sandstone; similar hands were also on the walls of the Caves below. My first impression was that they were modern, but noticing that the sandstone, soft as it was, had been more durable than the conglomerate, I am now inclined to believe that they may be as old as the Buddhist period. The existence of somewhat similar hands on the sculptures at Bharhut tends to confirm this. A sketch of one of these hands is given in *plate 4*.

This does not exhaust the rock-cut excavations at this place. Low down in the cliff under the "Bazaar" can be seen some small tunnels; these were aqueducts, and the current of the river has carried the rock away in many places, thus making them seem numerous, but there is more than one tunnel, and they are not all on the same level, which probably implies that the water was taken from different heights, at separate points of the river, to irrigate the higher as well as the lower parts of the plain of Besud, opposite Jelalabad. In the cliffs still lower down the river the continuation of these aqueducts can also be seen, and one which gets its supply below the Pheel Khana Cave still carries water to Besud. It would be important to know if these aqueducts are as old as the Buddhist period, but that point cannot be settled with certainty. The remains of an aqueduct with a tunnel through a hill at Girdi

Kas is associated by the people there with the Badshahs of Delhi; but our Engineer officers reported to me the existence of "Buddhist masonry" in it,—this, as well as other considerations, inclines me to believe that these hydraulic works are all older than the Mahomedan era. Amongst these considerations, it may be mentioned that at Hada there is a rock-cut conduit under the mounds at that place, and we may safely assume its date to be as far back as the Buddhist period.

At Hada, the *Hilo*, or *Hidda* of Hiouen Thsang, there are numerous examples of Topes and mounds with Caves beneath them in the conglomerate cliffs. About half a mile to the west of the great mass of remains at that place is an irregular elevation in the plain covered with mounds, where cliffs are pierced with a very interesting group of Caves. Masson gives the spot the name of *Tappa Zurgaran*, or "The Goldsmith's Mound." The largest Cave in this group is known at the present day by the name of the "Palace of the Hoda Rajah"—Masson calls him Hudi or Udi,¹—who seems to be a very legendary character. General Cunningham says that Khairabad opposite Attock on the Indus is believed by the people in that locality to have been "the stronghold of Raja *Hodi* or *Udi*."² According to the present inhabitants of Hada this Cave is of interminable extent, and the Chicknoor legend was also affirmed about it, that it communicated with Kashmir. Colonel Tanner, who was on the Survey Department with General Sir Samuel Browne's column, had some excavations made into it, and the general character was brought to light. A plan of it will be found in *plate 2*. The only part that was not explored was at the south-east corner, where a continuation is blocked up by stones. This most probably only communicated with another entrance

¹ See *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 105.

² Archaeological Survey of India, Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 64, where it will be seen that the fame of this legendary Rajah extends from Jelalabad to the Punjab. Lowenthal derives the name of *Udi* from *Udayana*; but General Cunningham identifies it with "the great Indo-Scythic race of *Futi* or *Yuchi*." Macgregor, in his papers on Central Asia and Afghanistan, states that in Kafiristan "their kings are named Oda and Odashooh." We have here perhaps the most probable origin of the name.

from the front. One continuation behind terminated where a perpendicular shaft exists; and another which branches off obliquely comes out again into a hollow, thus forming a sort of "back-door" to the place. The ramifications of this Cave it will be seen from the plan, where the dimensions are given, makes it, with the exception of the "Bazaar," already described, the largest of the Caves I had seen in the Jelalabad Valley. At the entrance of this Cave the plaster was left in tolerably fair condition, and the section with circular roof, given in *plate 2*, is taken from it. In the rubbish at the entrance there were found some pieces of a Corinthian capital, and a fragment of a round stone ornamented with lotus leaves, which had probably been the base of a statue. These had no doubt tumbled down from some structures above, of which the foundations were visible.

To the north of the Palace of the Hoda Rajah, and in the same cliff, are a number of Caves, three or four of which are exceptional in their form. They are square in plan, with flat roofs, but the roofs have domes in their centres. The domes are round in all except one, which is conical, or of a tent shape (see *plate 5*). These Caves are very small, the one with the conical dome is of very restricted dimensions, being about 6 feet square; the dome is 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and about the same in height; the circular formed dome, given in *plate 5*, is 7 feet 3 inches diameter, and its height is 3 feet. The Cave, of which a plan is given in same plate, was larger; still it is only 13 feet square, and the dome is 9 feet diameter. This had eight small niches, two near each corner: these were about 2 feet 6 inches wide, and about 3 feet high, arched at the top. In one of these Caves part of a circular base was found under the dome. There was not enough left to determine whether it was the pedestal of a statue, or the base of a small Tope; so that that point is left uncertain. I am inclined to think that this exceptional form of cave was excavated to contain Topes.

We have no counterpart to these Caves in India, that I can remember, except it be the circular inner recess of the Lomas Rishi, Viswa Mitra, and the Sudama Caves at Barabar,

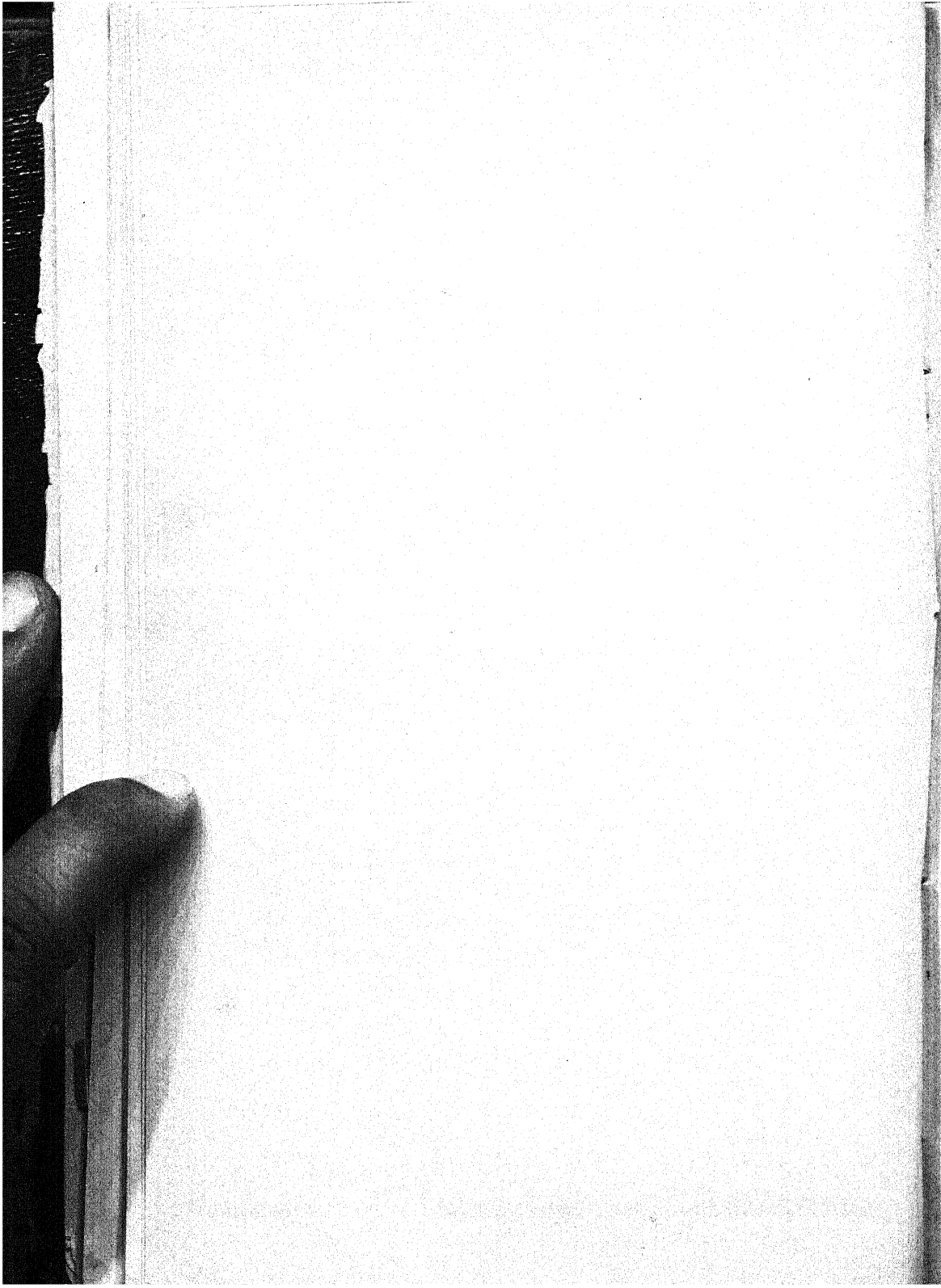
the recesses of which are domed, and were supposed to have contained Topes. Although these square Caves at Hada are in some respects widely different from those at Barabar, still I am struck while writing by the case of having to recur again to the Bengal examples for the type of the Afghanistan excavations.

This last group of Caves being so small they have escaped the ruinous results of having been occupied by the Koochis, and some traces of paintings are still visible on them. The domes seem to have had one or two belts of panels all round represented in colour, and in each panel was a figure, little more than a head and shoulders, the background being either a trefoil arch, or a nimbus round the head,—the effort to represent them in *plate 5* makes them far too distinct, for what is left of them is very shadowy. The smallest of the Caves,—that with the tent-shaped dome, from its littleness, seems to have escaped all the influences of smoke, and there is in it a fragment of a painting in which the colours are still very bright, particularly a background which is of emerald green,—if that colour was known to the painters of the period. The plaster has been knocked off in large patches, and this picture has not escaped. The background of green is a circle about 18 inches diameter; the upper part is damaged, but there is still left the lower part of a human figure, sitting on a chair, with the feet resting on a footstool,—the one ankle resting over the other: the left hand resting on the thigh. No costume is visible. *Plate 1* gives a sketch of the painting, with enlarged details of the chair. The legs of the chair are so like those of *Charpoy's*, to be seen in India at the present day, that we may suppose they have been turned on a lathe. The perpendicular bars are made in imitation of the "Buddhist Railing." There are chairs and sofas represented in the Amaravati Sculptures; these are no doubt thrones, as royal or important personages sit on them; but even now Rajahs do not sit on chairs, the throne is a *Gadi*, or pad. This implies a very curious change in India since the Buddhist period. Chairs or seats are not unknown in India,—late European influences are

outside of the point here,—but it might be stated that almost the whole population of India are without such articles of furniture. It would be important if some one could explain the influences which have produced such a change.

If all the Caves in Afghanistan were painted, and the chances are that they were, we may be certain that a vast mass of valuable knowledge has been destroyed with them. These small Caves were the only places in which I saw any fragments of painting. Vestiges of colour were visible on some of the Topes, and on the sculptures upon them; a figure which came to light at the Ahin Posh Tope had evidently been painted yellow. The late Sir Vincent Eyre has mentioned to me that he saw paintings at Bamian, and I think Lady Sale also alludes to them, and says something about her daughter and herself having tried to copy some of them. This implies that the subjects had some importance thus to attract the ladies to make copies.

One day a man came in from Hada and told the late Sir L. N. Cavagnari that he knew a Cave that was much larger than that of the Hoda Rajah's Palace. At his request I went out to Hada with the man, and the result shows how little one ought to trust to people living on the spot about matters of this kind. In *plate 2* a plan of this Cave is given, mainly to show the form of one of the exceptional Caves, but it will be seen that it is much smaller than the one the man compared it with. Its length in one direction is 50 feet. The sides and roof were in a tumble-down condition. There were some remains of plaster on the circular roof.



I.

H. E. Lord Curzon of
Kedleston with the
author's respects.

THE IRON PILLAR OF DELHI (MIHRAULĪ)
AND THE
EMPEROR CANDRA (CHANDRA).

BY
VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S.

*at present Commissioner
of Hyderabad.*

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra).* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE project of writing the "Ancient History of Northern India from the Monuments" has long occupied my thoughts, but the duties of my office do not permit me, so long as I remain in active service, to devote the time and attention necessary for the execution and completion of so arduous an undertaking. There is, indeed, little prospect that my project will ever be fully carried into effect by me. Be that as it may, I have made some small progress in the collection of materials, and have been compelled from time to time to make detailed preparatory studies of special subjects. I propose to publish these studies occasionally under the general title of "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History." The essay now presented as No. I of the series is that which happens to be the first ready. It grew out of a footnote to the draft of a chapter on the history of Candra Gupta II.

V. A. SMITH,
Gorakhpur, India.

July, 1896.

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George. Vol. 1

The great mosque built by Quṭb-ud-dīn 'Ibāk in 1191 A.D., and subsequently enlarged by his successors, as well as its minaret, the celebrated Quṭb Minār, stand on the site of Hindu temples, and within the limits of the fortifications known as the Fort of Rāi Pithaura, which were erected in the middle or latter part of the twelfth century to protect the Hindu city of Delhi from the attacks of the Musalmāns, who finally captured it in A.D. 1191.¹ These buildings are situated about nine miles south of modern Delhi, or Shāhjahānābād, and lie partly within the lands attached to the village of Mihirauli (Mehrauli).

"The front of the *maṣjid* [mosque] is a wall 8 feet thick, pierced by a line of five noble arches. The centre arch is 22 feet wide and nearly 53 feet in height, and the side arches are 10 feet wide and 24 feet high. Through these gigantic arches the first Musalmāns of Delhi entered a magnificent room, 135 feet long and 31 feet broad, the roof of which was supported on five rows of the tallest and finest of the Hindu pillars. The mosque is approached through a cloistered court, 145 feet in length from east to west and 96 feet in width. In the midst of the west half of this court stands the celebrated Iron Pillar, surrounded by cloisters formed of several rows of Hindu columns of infinite variety of design, and of most delicate execution."²

The presence of the infinitely various Hindu columns is explained by the fact that the mosque was constructed out of the materials of twenty-seven Hindu temples, of

¹ I use the conventional form Delhi for the name of the imperial city, though Dihli is the more accurate spelling according to Muhammadan usage. The ordinary Hindi spelling is Dillī.

The best account of the numerous cities now known collectively as Delhi is that given by the late Mr. Carr Stephen in his excellent work entitled "The Archaeology and Monumental Ruins of Delhi" (Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876). A general sketch-map of the ruined cities will be found in that book and in Cunningham's "Reports," vol. i, pl. xxxv. The true date of the capture of Delhi by the Muhammadans is A.D. 1191 (*ibid.*, p. 160, note).

On several matters the guidance of Carr Stephen is to be preferred to that of Cunningham.

² Cunningham, "Reports," i, 186.

which some are known to have been Vaisnava and some Jaina.¹ These temples were, with slight exceptions, utterly overthrown, so that one stone was not left upon another. The exceptions are that the lower portion of the surrounding walls of the raised terrace on which the mosque stands is the original undisturbed platform of a Hindu temple, on the exact site of which, in accordance with the usual practice, the mosque was erected; and that the tall pillars immediately behind the great arch are in their original position.²

The floor of the mosque itself, the "magnificent room" above described, "consisted of two layers of well-dressed stone close set, nine and ten inches thick respectively, resting on a basis of rubble-stone of enormous dimensions and indefinite depth, the excavation having been carried down over fourteen feet without coming to the bottom of the layers of rubble-stone. These two layers of dressed stone extend throughout the entire area of *masjid* [mosque], courtyard, and cloisters of inner inclosure. In the courtyard, however, these layers are overlain by another layer of stones of irregular shapes and sizes, and evidently belonging to various portions of some ruined structure; the consequence of this is that the level of the courtyard is higher than the level of the floor of [the] *masjid* and cloister."³ It is, I think, impossible to doubt that Mr. Beglar is right in the opinion that the Muhammadans left intact the beautifully-constructed double flooring resting on its massive rubble foundation, and that they are responsible for the superficial layer of broken material which overlies the floor of dressed stone in the courtyard.⁴

¹ The fact of the destruction of the twenty-seven temples is stated in the inscription over the eastern entrance of the courtyard of the mosque, and is fully corroborated by an examination of the pillars, one of which bears the date 1124 (V.S.), equivalent to A.D. 1067-1068. (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, pp. 175, 177, 179; and vol. v, Preface, p. v; Carr Stephen, p. 41.)

² Cunningham, "Reports," vol. v, Preface, p. ii.

³ Ibid., p. 27. This passage is written by Mr. Beglar. By "inner inclosure" the writer means the original mosque of Qutb-ud-din, as distinguished from the later additions of Iltutmish (Iyaltamish, Altamsh) and of 'Ala-ud-din.

⁴ "Reports," vol. v, p. 32; Carr Stephen, p. 40.

The Iron Pillar stands in this courtyard at a distance of ten or eleven yards outside the great arches of the mosque.¹ Until Mr. Beglar, in 1871, excavated the base of the pillar, most exaggerated notions of its size were current. Sir Alexander Cunningham himself believed the total length to be not less than sixty feet, and the weight to exceed seventeen tons. Equally mistaken notions were current concerning the material of the pillar, which, probably on account of the curious yellowish colour of the upper part of the shaft, was commonly believed to be a casting of brass, bronze, or other mixed metal. An accurate chemical analysis made at Cunningham's instance, left no room for doubt as to the material.²

It is now established beyond the possibility of doubt that the material of the pillar is pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity, and that the monument is a solid shaft of wrought iron welded together. Flaws in many parts disclose the fact that the welding is not absolutely perfect.

The total length of the pillar from the top of the capital to the bottom of the base is 23 feet 8 inches. Twenty-two feet are above ground, and only 1 foot 8 inches are below ground. The weight is estimated to exceed six tons. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches, the diminution being 0·29 of an inch per foot. The capital, which is of the bell pattern, is 3½ feet high.

The base is a knob or bulb, slightly irregular in shape, 2 feet 4 inches in diameter, resting on a gridiron of iron bars, soldered with lead into the upper layer of dressed stone of the pavement. The bulb does not penetrate the lower layer of dressed stone. The column is, therefore, supported by the upper layer of the old Hindu floor, and the superficial layer of broken stone laid down by the

¹ "Reports," vol. i, pl. xxxviii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

Musalmāns.¹ It is now further steadied by a small stone bench or platform, which has been recently built round the base on the surface of the floor.

The capital consists of seven parts, namely, a reeded bell, like that of Budha Gupta's monolith at Eraṇ, a thin, plain disc, three discs with serrated edges, another thin, plain disc, and a square block.² Judging from the analogy of the Eraṇ monument, where a similar square block serves as pedestal to a statue, it is probable that the Iron Pillar was originally surmounted by an image of Viṣṇu, the god to whom it is dedicated. The block is now meaningless, and the absence of any trace of the image is easily explained by the fact that the monument stands in the precincts of a mosque. Reeded bell capitals, more or less similar, are found on other pillars both of the Gupta period and of the much earlier age of Aśōka.³

The style of the pillar and the form of the characters of the inscription, considered together, permit no doubt that the monument was erected in the Gupta period. Prinsep was of opinion that it should be dated in the third or fourth century A.D. Fergusson ascribed it to one of the Gupta emperors. Bhau Dājī was inclined to date it a little later. Dr. Fleet points out that the characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the panegyric on Samudra Gupta on the Allāhābād Pillar. The well-marked top lines of the letters on the Iron Pillar, which were once supposed to mark a later date, are also found in Kumāra Gupta's Bilsad inscription ("Gupta Inscriptions," pp. 43 and 140).

The bottom line of the inscription, which covers a space about 2 feet 9½ inches broad, by 10½ inches high, is at

¹ Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, p. 169; vol. v, p. 28, pl. v. The plate gives a plan and section of the base of the pillar drawn to scale. See also Fergusson, "Eastern and Indian Architecture," p. 508; V. Ball, "Economic Geology of India," pp. 338, 339; Carr Stephen, p. 16.

² My description of the capital of the Delhi pillar is based on a good photograph and personal knowledge. The Eraṇ pillar has been described by Cunningham, whose plate is lithographed from a photograph ("Reports," vol. x, p. 81, pl. xxvi). A facsimile of the Iron Pillar is in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.

³ E.g., the Kahāoṃ and Bhitari pillars of Skanda Gupta's reign, and the Lauriyā pillar of Aśōka. (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, pls. xxv and xxix.)

a height of about 7 feet 2 inches above the stone platform in which the pillar is now fixed. The deeply-cut characters are in excellent preservation, and, with one exception, the engraving is correct.¹

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy in verse of a powerful sovereign named Candra,² concerning whose lineage no information is given, and may be translated as follows:—

Translation.

“This lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was erected on Mount Viṣṇupada by King Candra, whose thoughts were devoted in faith to Viṣṇu. The beauty of that king’s countenance was as that of the full moon [*candra*³];—by him, with his own arm, sole worldwide dominion was acquired and long held;—and although, as if wearied, he has in bodily form quitted this earth, and passed to the other-world country won by his merit, yet, like the embers of a quenched fire in a great forest, the glow of his foe-destroying energy quits not the earth;—by the breezes of his prowess the southern ocean is still perfumed;—by him, having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus, were the Vāhlikas vanquished in battle;—and when, warring in the Vāṅga countries, he breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him, fame was inscribed on [their] arm by his sword.”⁴

¹ “Gupta Inscriptions,” p. 140.

² The document consists of six lines, or three stanzas, of the *Çārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

³ A pun, as usual in Sanskrit verse.

⁴ This translation is based on that of Dr. Fleet, who has been so anxious to secure verbal accuracy that his meaning is difficult to grasp. In order that my readers may not feel doubts as to the accuracy of my version, Dr. Fleet’s is here appended.

“He, on whose arms fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vāṅga countries, he kneaded (*and turned*) back with (*his*) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (*him*);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.) “He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (*his*) enemies, like (*the remnant of the great glowing heat*) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (*bodily*) form to the land (*of paradise*) won by (*the merit of his*) actions, (*but*) remaining on (*this*) earth by (*the memory of his*) fame;—

(Line 5.) “By him, the king—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm, and (*enjoyed*) for a very long time; (*and*) who,

The only passage of which the rendering can be considered in the least doubtful is that rendered by Dr. Fleet "having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Viṣṇu," and by me, "whose thoughts were devoted in faith to Viṣṇu." The word *bhāvēna*, which we translate "in faith," is actually *dhāvēna*. The earlier translators regarded this word as a proper name, and supposed the name of the king commemorated to be Dhāva. But the construction of the sentence scarcely admits of this interpretation. The use of the two names Dhāva and Candra for the one person in such a brief record, without a word of explanation or amplification, would be intolerably harsh composition, and it is to my mind quite incredible that the writer intended to give the king two names. The correction from *dhāvēna* to *bhāvēna* appears to be both necessary and certain. The error is easily explained by the fact that a very slight slip of the engraver's tool was sufficient to convert the character used for *bh* into a form which may be read as *dh*.¹

The purport of the record is, therefore, known with certainty; and the difficulties of interpreting it are of a historical, not a philological, nature.

The facts recorded are, that the pillar was erected in honour of Viṣṇu on Mount Viṣṇupada (Viṣṇu's foot) by a monarch named Candra, who had long enjoyed world-wide sovereignty, but was deceased at the time when the inscription was engraved, and that this sovereign had

having the name of Candra, carried a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full moon—having in faith fixed his mind upon (*the god*) Viṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set up on the hill (*called*) Viṣṇupada."

The translation of the words *abhiṭikṣitā khaḍgēna kīrttirbhuyē*, "fame was written on [his] arm by the sword," is plain enough, but the meaning is obscure. Prinsep, who used an inaccurate text, supposed the pillar itself to be referred to as "the arm," and that "the letters cut upon it are called the typical cuts inflicted upon his enemies by his sword, writing his immortal fame" (J.A.S.B., vii, 630, quoted in Cunningham, "Reports," i, 170). The poet probably did intend to suggest that the pillar was the uplifted arm of Candra, as well as the standard of Viṣṇu. The Allāhābād Pillar is called "an arm of the earth" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 10). I have suggested another interpretation in the text.

¹ "I read his name preferably as *Bhāva*, the letter *bh* having got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel. The letter is different from every other *dh* in the inscription." (Cunningham, "Reports," i, 171.) This observation is correct. The letter *dh* occurs in six other places.

defeated a hostile confederacy in the Vaṅga countries, and had, after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu, or Indus, vanquished the Vāhlikas.

The probable meaning of these statements will now be considered.

The *Brhat Samhitā* places the countries Vaṅga, or Vāṅga, and Upavaṅga, in the south-east division; and incidentally mentions several times the Vāhlika country and people, the name being variously spelled as Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Bāhlika, or Bāhlika. Dr. Kern translates the word as Balkh, but, as Dr. Fleet observes, that rendering cannot well be applied to the record of Candra's exploits (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, pp. 174, 192, 193). The tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Balūchistān.

"The Vaṅga countries" presumably mean Bengal, or Baṅga, including the Upavaṅga, or Bengal minor, of the *Brhat Samhitā*. The province of Baṅga, according to Cunningham, "was bounded by the Brahmaputra on the west, the Ganges on the south, the Megna on the east, and the Khasia hills on the north. It contained the old cities of Dhākka and Sunārgaon." ("Reports," xv, 145.) The expression "the Vaṅga countries" may, therefore, be fairly interpreted as meaning Lower Bengal generally.

The identity of the Candra who fought campaigns in Lower Bengal and across the Indus has not hitherto been conclusively determined. Dr. Fleet is inclined to identify him with Candra Gupta I, but this identification seems absolutely impossible. The list of Samudra Gupta's conquests proves that the dominions of his predecessor, Candra Gupta I, were of moderate extent, and it is incredible that his arms ever penetrated either into Bengal or Balūchistān. The fact that the Iron Pillar is situated in the village of Mihraulī, the name of which is a corruption of Mihirapuri, suggested to Dr. Fleet the alternative conjecture that the monarch commemorated might have been himself a Mihira. The Mihiras (or Maitrakas) were "a branch of the Hūnas" (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 361). Dr. Fleet,

therefore, thinks it possible that Candra may be an unnamed younger brother of Mihirakula (*circa* A.D. 515-544), whose existence is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

This conjecture does not seem to fit the language of the record. The White Hun chief Mihirakula was a very powerful personage, but his younger brother could not have claimed the sole supreme sovereignty of the world.

The alphabetical characters belong to what Dr. Hoernle (who is probably now the greatest authority on Gupta palaeography) calls the Gupta variety of the North-Eastern alphabet. The Indian inscriptions in this character range from the time of Samudra Gupta (Faridpur inscription of Dharmāditya) to the year A.D. 467 in the reign of Skanda Gupta (Garhwā inscription dated G.E. 148, No. 66 of Fleet). Dr. Hoernle points out that nearly all the inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet are crowded together in the home-provinces of the Gupta empire, and belong to the reigns of Candra Gupta II, his son, and grandson. The only inscriptions in this alphabet which come from western localities are the Udayagiri Cave inscriptions of Candra Gupta II (No. 6 of Fleet) and this Mihraulī inscription of Candra. Dr. Hoernle, therefore, unhesitatingly ascribes the Iron Pillar to Candra Gupta II, and assigns it the approximate date of A.D. 410 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxi, pp. 42-4). In spite of the wording of the Iron Pillar record, which departs widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions, I am convinced that Dr. Hoernle is right, and that the mysterious emperor Candra can be no other than Candra Gupta II, in whose reign the Gupta empire attained its climax. But the date fixed by Dr. Hoernle is a little too early.

The latest dated inscription of Candra Gupta II (Sāñcī, No. 5 of Fleet) is dated G.E. 93, and the earliest inscription of his son and successor, Kumāra Gupta I, is dated G.E. 96 (Bilsad, No. 10 of Fleet). The accession of Kumāra Gupta I and the demise of his father must, therefore, have taken place at some time during the years 93 to 96 of the Gupta era. The possible error is very slight if

the death of Candra Gupta II is dated in G.E. 95, equivalent roughly to A.D. 413.

The erection of the pillar by Candra Gupta II, assuming his identity with Candra, may be assigned to that year, and the posthumous inscription commemorating Candra's victories, which was presumably executed by order of his successor soon after Candra's decease, must be dated not later than A.D. 415.

The fact is unquestionable that Candra Gupta II professed a special devotion to Viṣṇu. One of his favourite titles was *paramabhāgavata*, "the most devout worshipper of the Divine." The term *Bhagavat*, or Divine, may be applied to any god or object of worship, but it is specially appropriate to Viṣṇu, and in this inscription of Candra is applied to that form of the Deity. Dr. Fleet has proved that *paramabhāgavata* must be regarded as an exclusively Vaiṣṇava title, and equivalent to *paramavaṣṇava*.¹

This title was used by Candra Gupta in two inscriptions, and in the legends of four types of his varied and extensive coinage.² It continued to be used by his son Kumāra Gupta I, and his grandson, Skanda Gupta.

The erection of the Iron Pillar as "the lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu" by Candra Gupta II, and its dedication by Kumāra Gupta I, both princes who professed a special devotion to the god honoured, are natural and appropriate acts.

The use of the name Candra alone in the Iron Pillar inscription instead of the full form, Candra Gupta, is easily paralleled. For instance, Candra Gupta II himself uses indifferently the titles Śrī Vikrama and Śrī Vikramāditya; and many other examples might be quoted.³ The name Candra standing alone actually occurs on a series of minute

¹ "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 28.

² Namely, the Mathurā and Gaḍhwā inscriptions (Nos. 4 and 7 of "Gupta Inscriptions"); the Javelin, Horseman to Right, and Horseman to Left types of the gold, and the Vikramāditya types of the silver coinage. The silver coins belong to a period subsequent to the conquest of Surāṣṭra.

³ "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 9, note, where instances are given.

coins, those of the vase type, which are certainly approximately contemporary with the Iron Pillar inscription. I have now no doubt that these coins must be assigned to Candra Gupta II.¹

When to all these arguments is added this, that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign of the period to whom the language of the inscription could be applied, the conclusion is inevitable that the Candra who set up the Iron Pillar, and whose exploits are briefly commemorated in the inscription on that monument, was beyond doubt Candra Gupta II.²

This determination is of very considerable historical importance. It settles within a year or two the date of a very remarkable and interesting monument, which has always attracted the wonder of travellers, and has become the object of more intelligent admiration since the difficulties attending its construction have been understood. Many of the older travellers supposed the pillar to be a casting made of brass or bronze, but the discovery that the material is pure malleable iron, which must have been forged, has filled experts with admiration of the mechanical skill capable of accomplishing so great a work. "It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest foundries of the world, and even now there are comparatively few where a similar mass of metal could be turned out."³

Another iron pillar, which may be of the same age, exists at Dhār, the ancient Dhārā, now the chief town of

See above paper.

¹ V. A. Smith, "Coinage," pp. 143, 144.

² I reject absolutely the suggestion of Bābū Nagendra Nātha Vāsu that Candra of the Iron Pillar is to be identified with the Mahārāja Candravarman, son of Mahārāja Siddhavarman, who recorded a brief dedicatory inscription in characters of the Gupta period on the Susūmā hill, seventeen miles SSW. of the Rānigānj railway station in the Bānkurā District of Bengal. That chieftain, who is styled "lord of the Puṣkara lake," was probably the Candravarman mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription as one of the kings of Āryavarta conquered by Samudra Gupta (Proc. A.S.B. for 1895, p. 177). He may have been king of Kāmarūpa, or Assam. It is very improbable that the Puṣkara lake in Ajmīr can be that referred to in this inscription from Lower Bengal, as the Bābū assumes that it is.

³ Valentine Ball, "Economic Geology of India," p. 338.

the Dhār State in Central India.¹ So far as I know, these two are the only notable iron pillars in existence. The worldwide belief in the special power of iron to counteract demoniacal influence² probably recommended the use of that material for the Delhi and Dhār pillars.

The Mihrauli inscription is also of interest because it confirms the fact of the exceptionally long reign of Candragupta II, which had been inferred from a study of his extremely varied coinage. The inscription distinctly affirms that the emperor had enjoyed the sole sovereignty for "a very long time" (*suciram*), and the fact thus affirmed, which is fully in accordance with the other evidence, may be accepted without hesitation. The magniloquent phrase, "sole supreme sovereignty of the world," must, of course, be interpreted with due limitations, as meaning merely the suzerainty of India north of the Narbadā. Nothing yet discovered indicates that Candragupta II repeated his father's incursions into peninsular India. The campaigns in Bengal and west of the Indus are known only from the Mihrauli record, and probably occurred at a late period of the reign, subsequent to A.D. 400. The earlier years of the reign were fully occupied with the permanent subjugation of Mālwa and Kathiāwār, or Surāṣṭra, and the consolidation of the extensive territories acquired by Samudra Gupta.

The questions whether or not the Iron Pillar occupies its original position, and if not, where that position must be sought, and when the pillar was removed, remain to be considered, and, if possible, answered.

According to local tradition, Delhi was deserted from B.C. 57 until the year 792 of the Vikrama era, equivalent to A.D. 735-6, when a city was founded by a prince of the Tōmāra clan, variously named Ānanga Pāla [I] and Bilan

¹ "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 140, note 2. No detailed description of this pillar is known to me. Dr. Fleet observes that "there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Muslims conquered that part of the country."

² Crooke, "An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," p. 191. Allāhābād, 1894.

Dē. Abūl Fazl, in his summary, gives the date as 429 of the era of Vikrama, which, if corrected to the Gupta era, is equivalent to A.D. 747; and an inscription on the Iron Pillar itself is said to state the date as 419, which, interpreted in the same way, is equivalent to A.D. 737.¹ The popular belief is that this Ānanga Pāla I set up the Iron Pillar where it now stands.² But the popular belief takes no account of the inscription of Candrarāja, the date of which has been ascertained to be approximately A.D. 415, and the pillar was certainly actually erected only a short time before that date. It is, therefore, more than three centuries older than the period assumed by tradition for Ānanga Pāla I. I confess I have the greatest doubts as to the reality of the existence of this personage.

The first Ānanga Pāla of whom we possess any real knowledge is the chieftain called by Cunningham Ānanga Pāla II. A contemporary inscription of his is recorded on the Iron Pillar itself. This brief record is engraved in three lines, in the Hindī language, in characters similar to those of the mason's marks on the pillars of the colonnade of the great mosque. One of these pillars, No. 12, bears on one face the word *Kacal* in Nāgarī letters, and on another the date 1124 (v.s.), equivalent to A.D. 1067-8. The record on the Iron Pillar in similar characters is as follows:—

Saṁvat Dihali 1109 Ang Pāl bāhi—"In Saṁvat 1109 [A.D. 1052-3] Āng [Ānang] Pāl peopled [founded] Delhi."³

The date of this Ānanga Pāla, the so-called Second, is, therefore, known with certainty, and the pillars of a temple erected in his reign still remain.⁴ A tank near the Qutb

¹ These traditions are discussed by Cunningham, "Reports," i, p. 137 seqq., and Carr Stephen, p. 11 seqq. The inscription on the Iron Pillar, which is said to give the date for Ānanga Pāla I as Saṁvat 419, has not been published. Abūl Fazl (Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbari," ii, 96) refers the date 429 to the Vikrama era, but Cunningham is probably right in interpreting the date as referable to the Gupta-Valabhi era.

² Chand is said to connect the legends of the Iron Pillar with Ānanga Pāla II. (Carr Stephen, p. 17.)

³ Cunningham, "Reports," i, 151.

⁴ Cunningham assigns him a reign of thirty years, A.D. 1051 to 1081; but the exact limits are not known. (Ibid., p. 149.)

mosque also bears his name, and tradition has preserved the names of a number of his descendants. Cunningham shows that the building operations of this Ānanga Pāla at Delhi were almost contemporaneous with the conquest of Kanauj by the Rathōrs, and that it was probably in consequence of that conquest that Ānanga Pāla established himself in Delhi.

Not a single historical event can be connected with any of the names inserted by the genealogists between Ānanga Pāli I and Ānanga Pāla II. Cunningham, who believed in the reality of the first Ānanga Pāla, and laboriously endeavoured to extract facts from the fictions of Hindu bards, admits that, "with the solitary exception of the Iron Pillar," there are no existing remains that can be assigned with certainty to the old Hindu city of Delhi. He fancied that one pillar, bearing a figure either of Buddha or of a Jain hierarch, might possibly be old, but, after a minute examination on three successive days, came to the unwilling conclusion that there is nothing now existing older than the tenth or eleventh century. The natural inference, to my mind, is that nothing older ever existed on the site. Cunningham was firmly persuaded that the Iron Pillar stood in its original position, and that the existence of such a monument implied the existence of an ancient city. He also cherished the illusion that there must be some historical foundation for the fictions which Hindu bards love to pass off as traditions handed down from a remote past, and could not bring himself to admit their absolute worthlessness. Quṭb-ud-dīn prided himself on having used up for his mosque the materials of twenty-seven temples of the idolaters. He was perfectly indifferent whether the temples dated from the eighth or the eleventh century, and, if buildings of the eighth century were in existence in his time, traces of them would now be visible in the mosque cloisters. But everything to be seen there is in the late mediaeval style, and may be referred approximately to the time of Ānanga Pāla II in the middle of the eleventh century.

x Similarly, I believe that the inscribed statue of Sahet-mahet was moved from Chavasta.

In short, the building of old Delhi, that is to say, a town in or near Rai Pithaura's Fort, including a group of richly decorated temples, by Ānanga Pāla in the middle of the eleventh century, is a verified, certain fact, and the supposed foundation of a city on the same site by an Ānanga Pāla, in or about A.D. 736, is an unverified myth, unsupported by evidence and opposed to archaeological facts.

The reasonable inference from the known facts seems to be that when Ānanga Pāla, in A.D. 1052-3, recorded on the Iron Pillar his foundation of the city, he himself set up the pillar, and that the homonymous ancestor, with whom so many foolish legends are sometimes associated, is as fictitious as the legends. Chand's version, which associates the foolish legends with Ānanga Pāla II, is more reasonable, if the epithet reasonable may be applied to fiction. It is extremely improbable that Ānanga Pāla in the eleventh century found the Iron Pillar standing in a waste, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that any buildings of the fifth century, from the beginning of which the pillar certainly dates, ever existed on the spot. From these premises the conclusion necessarily follows that Ānanga Pāla brought the pillar from somewhere else, and set it up to adorn his new city, and to add sanctity x to his temple of Viṣṇu. He acted, in fact, in the same way as kings have acted in all ages. Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq took immense pains to move Aśōka's monoliths from Meerut and Topra to Dehli, and from Kauśāmbi to Prayāg, just as long afterwards Napoleon and other princes have thought no trouble too great to obtain possession of Egyptian obelisks for the decoration of their capitals.

The manner in which the Iron Pillar is fixed into the pavement is not, as Dr. Fleet fancied, an argument against the theory of the removal, but a strong argument in its support. The pavement, as has been proved above, is the eleventh-century pavement laid down by Ānanga Pāla, and covered over by a layer of rubbish due to Qutb-ud-dīn. Into the surface layer of that pavement the Iron Pillar

is clamped by an iron grating secured with lead solder. The pavement certainly does not, like the pillar, date from the fifth century. It seems obviously to be the flooring of the great mediaeval group of temples destroyed by the Musalmāns. These iconoclasts were eager to overthrow the superstructure of the idol-covered temples, but had no motive for interfering with the massive flagged pavement resting on well-tried foundations of unknown depth. There is no reason to suppose that the pillar was ever disturbed since it was set up in that pavement, and it seems to my mind evident that it was set up at the time when the pavement was laid down.

These arguments are in themselves sufficient to prove that the pillar cannot occupy its original position. They are confirmed by an equally cogent argument drawn from the language of Candrar's inscription. That document expressly states that the pillar was erected on the lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu, on a mount or hill (*giri*), known by the name of Viṣṇupada. This language necessarily implies that the monument was erected in a conspicuous, commanding position on the summit of a hill sufficiently isolated to bear a distinctive name. The pillar now stands in a practically level courtyard, situated in a depression with rising ground on each side. No violence to language could possibly justify the application of the term "hill" to the present site of the monument, and when the writer of the inscription said that the pillar was set up on the hill, it is impossible to doubt that he stated an obvious fact. Consequently the pillar must have been moved from its original site on a hill to its present site in a hollow.

The hill on which it was originally set up bore the name of Viṣṇu's Foot, presumably because it boasted of a rock bearing impressions reputed to be the footmarks of the god. The place where the hill known as Mount Viṣṇu's Foot existed must have been a well-known spot frequented by Vaiṣṇava pilgrims, within the Gupta dominions, and not very remote from Delhi. All the

conditions of such a position are satisfied by Mathurā. That city is less than eighty miles from the Quṭb Mīnār, was within the boundary of the Gupta empire, has many hills and mounds in or adjoining the city precincts, is one of the most ancient cities of India, and has been from time immemorial the site of famous temples of Viṣṇu, and a centre of Vaiṣṇava worship. Inscriptions both of Candragupta II, who erected the Iron Pillar, and of his son, Kumāragupta I, who inscribed it, have been found at Mathurā.¹ For these reasons it seems to me to be extremely probable that the Iron Pillar was originally erected at Mathurā. The Katra mound, where the magnificent temple of Viṣṇu, under the name of Kēśava, once stood, may very probably prove to be *Viṣṇupadagiri*, the Mount of Viṣṇu's Footmark, mentioned in the inscription.

To sum up, my conclusions are—

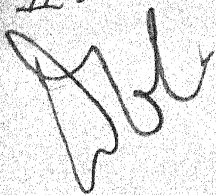
1. The tradition that Delhi (that is to say, a city near the Quṭb Mīnār) was founded or refounded by Ānanga Pāla I in or about A.D. 736, is untrustworthy, and not supported by evidence. It is probable that Ānanga Pāla I is a myth.
2. Delhi (in the sense stated above) was certainly founded, or refounded, by a prince named Ānanga Pāla in A.D. 1052–3, who then constructed a group of temples. The floor of the platform of that group still exists as the floor of the Quṭb mosque and courtyard. The Iron Pillar is clamped into that floor, and was set up when the floor was laid down.
3. The Iron Pillar was moved from its original site by Ānanga Pāla in or about A.D. 1050.
4. The original site of the pillar was at or near Mathurā, on the top of a hill or mound known as Viṣṇupada.
5. The pillar is a solid mass of pure malleable iron weighing over six tons, not cast, but constructed by a welding process.

¹ Mathurā Stone Inscription of Candragupta II (No. 4, "Gupta Inscriptions"); Inscription dated G.E. 113 (No. 39, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 198).

6. It was originally surmounted by a statue, which was probably removed by the Muhammadans.
7. It was set up by Candragupta II, at the close of his reign, in honour of his favourite divinity Viṣṇu.
8. Candragupta having died before the inscription could be prepared, the pillar was inscribed by order of his son and successor, Kumāragupta I, in or about the year A.D. 415.
9. The inscription establishes the historical facts that Candragupta II enjoyed a very long reign, and that he waged successful wars against a confederacy in Lower Bengal, and against the Vāhlikas, west of the Indus.



II.



H. E. Lord Curzon of
Kedleston with the
author respects.

THE IRON PILLAR OF DHĀR.

BY

V. A. SMITH.

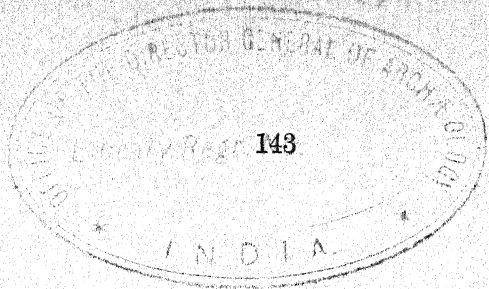
[From the "JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY," January, 1898.]

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ART. XIV.—*The Iron Pillar of Dhār.* By V. A. SMITH.

IN the article on "The Iron Pillar of Delhi" I noticed that another iron pillar exists at Dhār in Central India, but observed that no detailed description of that pillar was known to me.¹

I now find that a description of this very remarkable monument has been printed—I can hardly say published—in a report by the indefatigable Dr. Führer.

"About thirty-three miles west of Indor lies Dhār, or Dhārā, the ancient capital of Mālava; but nothing remains of its former grandeur except three remarkable Musalman buildings, erected out of the wrecks of some magnificent Jaina temples of the twelfth century A.D., and an ancient iron column. . . .

"The Jāmī or Lāt Masjid, erected by Dilāwar Khān Ghori in A.H. 807, is a similar building to Kamāl-ud-dīn's Dargāh, but the Jaina columns are not so handsomely carved; the *mīhrābs* and *mimbar*, however, are fine specimens of Musalman workmanship.

"Close to the *masjid* is lying, in a sloping position against the terrace, a fragment of an iron column, or *lāt*, a square of 10 inches on each side, and 24 feet long, with a Persian inscription of Akbar Shāh, dated A.H. 1100, incised on its longer length; a second piece, similar and originally belonging to it, is standing opposite the Jāmī Masjid at Māndugarh, being an octagon, 2 ft. 8 in. in circumference, with 10 inches of a circular end (showing another piece is missing), and 12 feet long. A third piece, a square of 10 inches, with a bell-capital, 6 feet high, is standing in the garden of the Mahārājah's guest-house at Dhār.

¹ J.R.A.S., Jan 1897, p. 11.

"The total height of this remarkable column would be 42 ft. 8 in. less than the *lāt* near the Qutb Masjid at Delhi; the latter, however, being round, and 4 ft. 10 in. in circumference.¹

"It would be advisable, by local mechanical means could be found for moving these enormous masses of iron, to erect afresh this iron column in front of the Jāmi Masjid at Dhār in its original position. . . .

"About twenty-three miles south of Dhār lies the celebrated hill fort of Māndu, now deserted, and handed over to the tender-mercies of vegetation, which has covered the whole hill and enveloped the palaces and *mausoleums*."²

The above very imperfect description of the Dhār pillar does not warrant the assumption that the principal fragment, lying against the terrace of the Jāmi Masjid at Dhār, occupies its original position. The iron pillar certainly has no connection with the Jain temples of the twelfth century, which supplied the materials for the Mosque. The bell-capital, which is vaguely described as included in a fragment 6 feet high, must consist of several members. I doubt if the bell-capital, in any of its forms, is to be found of a date later than A.D. 500. So far as can be judged from a description so deficient in details and unaccompanied by any illustration, the pillar at Dhār must, like the similar monument near Delhi, date from the Gupta period. Pillars of that period were constructed with members of circular, square, and octagonal sections in combination.³

The three existing pieces of the Dhār column are said to measure respectively 24, 12, and 6 feet long, aggregating

*37 feet
a shalithely
unconnected*

¹ These figures for the Iron Pillar at the Qutb Mosque are wildly wrong. The total height of that monument from top to bottom is 23 ft. 8 in. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches, the diminution being 0·29 of an inch per foot. The capital, which is of the bell pattern, is 3½ feet high.

² "Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1893"; printed at the Thomason College Press, Roorkee, No. 2,286, p. 21.

³ The references to Gupta Architecture in Cunningham's "Reports" are grouped together under that heading in my General Index. See especially vol. ix, plate xi; and vol. x, plates xx-xxii and xxvi-xxx.

42 feet, in addition to a missing fragment. If these figures are correct, the column was approximately double the height of the Delhi monument.

We marvel at the skill shown by the ancient artificers in forging the great mass of the Delhi pillar, and must give a still greater measure of admiration to the forgotten craftsmen who dealt successfully with the still more ponderous mass of the Dhār monument.





TV.

H. E. Lord Curzon of Kedleston
with the author's respects.

KAUSĀMBĪ AND SRĀVASTĪ.

BY

VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S.,

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

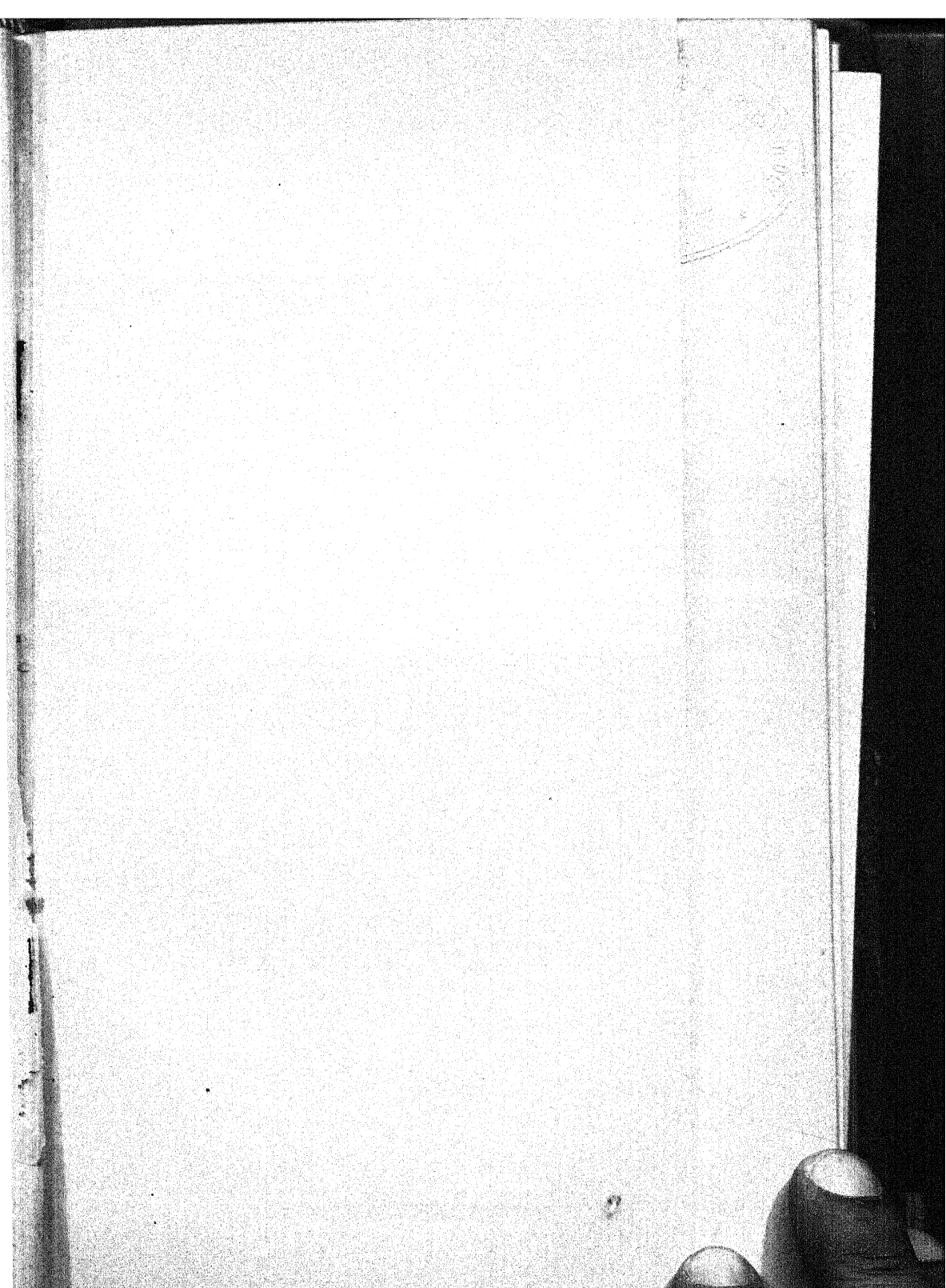
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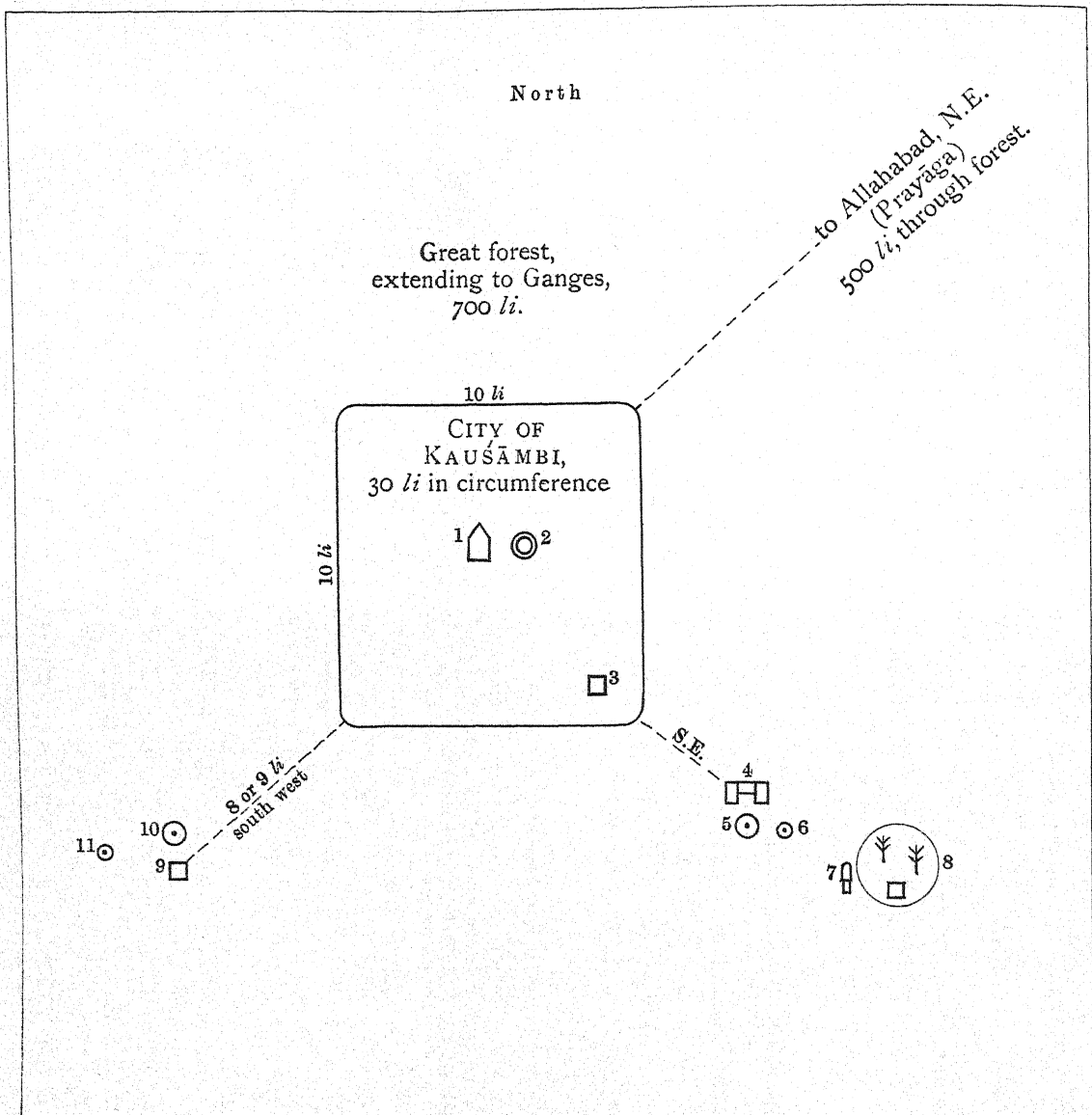
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No.



KAUSĀMBI AS DESCRIBED BY HIUEN TSIANG.

J. R. A. S. 1998



REFERENCES.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 <i>Vihāra</i> of sandal-wood statue. | 7 Double-storeyed tower of Vasubandhu. |
| 2 Well and bathing-house of Buddha. | 8 Mango grove and building of Asanga. |
| 3 House of Goṣira. | 9 Stone dwelling of Nāga. |
| 4 <i>Saṅghārāma</i> . | 10 <i>Stūpa</i> of Aśoka. |
| 5 <i>Stūpa</i> of Aśoka. | 11 <i>Stūpa</i> of hair and nails. |
| 6 <i>Stūpa</i> of hair and nails. | |

SCALE.

6 li or 1 inch on plan = 1 mile.

There were also ten ruined monasteries (*Saṅghārāmas*), and fifty Deva temples, of which the situation is not indicated

V. A. Smith, del.

ART. XXI.—*Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī*. By VINCENT A. SMITH,
M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service. With Two Plates.

[This paper is No. III of my "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History."

No. I, "The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra)," appeared in this Journal in January, 1897.

No. II, "The Conquests of Samudra Gupta," appeared in this Journal for October, 1897.—V. A. S.]

Page 503 Kauśāmbī.
,, 520 Śrāvastī.

I. KAUSĀMBĪ.

Exact investigation, assisted by some recent fortunate discoveries, has proved that the reputed identifications of many of the ancient sites famous in early Indian history are beyond doubt erroneous. Almost every such identification requires to be submitted to searching criticism before it can be accepted as correct. If any ancient site could be regarded as satisfactorily identified, that of the city of Kauśāmbī might apparently be so regarded. Nevertheless, the current belief is mistaken.

Since the publication in 1871 of Sir Alexander Cunningham's first volume of the Archaeological Survey Reports, the identification of Kauśāmbī with Kosam on the Jumna, about thirty miles south of west from Allahabad, has never, so far as I am aware, been questioned except by me.¹ The identification had been suggested by the late Sir E. C.

¹ In the paper on "The Birthplace of Gautama Buddha" in this Journal for July, 1897, p. 615.

Bayley ten years before the publication of Cunningham's Report.

There is certainly a great deal to be said for the current belief. The name Kosam is apparently a shortened form of Kausāmbī or Kośāmbī, and the place is actually known to this day among the Jains as Kośāmbī nagar.¹ A Jain inscription, dated Samvat 1881 (= A.D. 1824-25), at the Pabhosā hill, three miles to the south-west of the great Kosam fort, expressly identifies Pabhosā with the classical Prabhāsa, and Kosam with Kausāmbī.²

An inscription at Kosam, of the reign of Akbar, dated in Samvat 1621 (= A.D. 1524), also mentions the name of Kausāmbīpura.³

The remains at Kosam are sufficiently extensive to be those of a capital city, and some of the ruins both at Kosam and Pabhosā may be more or less plausibly identified with structures mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

Moreover, Kosam is situated on the Jumna, as also was Kausāmbī, according to a Buddhist tradition.⁴

These unquestionable facts seem at first sight to establish incontestably that at Kosam we see the ruins of the ancient capital city Kausāmbī, which was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in about A.D. 639, and is mentioned by Fa-hian about A.D. 400.⁵

Notwithstanding these facts, the particulars given by the Chinese travellers are inconsistent with the theory that the Kausāmbī to which they refer is represented by the modern Kosam.

The two small villages Kosam Inām (i.e. revenue-free) and Kosam Khirāj (i.e. revenue-paying) are situated on the Jumna, twenty-eight miles about west-south-west of

¹ Cunningham, "Reports," i, 303; *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 244.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 244.

³ "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. P. and Oudh," p. 142.

⁴ The legend of Bakkula in Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," p. 520, 2nd ed. Cunningham quotes page 501, referring perhaps to the first edition.

⁵ Dr. Führer has made an astounding blunder in asserting ("Mon. Antiq. and Inscr.," p. 144) that Kausāmbī was visited by Sung-yun in A.D. 519. I need hardly observe that Sung-yun's travels in India extended no further than Peshāwar.

Allahabad. The hill and village of Pabhosā are about two miles further to the west.¹

This position by no means agrees with the indications given by either of the Chinese pilgrims. It may possibly, perhaps, be reconciled with the brief allusion of Fa-hian, but it is absolutely and incontrovertibly irreconcilable with the precise statements of Hiuen Tsiang. Either, therefore, the grave, learned, and accurate scholar Hiuen Tsiang has for once committed himself to a series of false, and apparently purposeless, statements, or Kosam is not the Kausāmbī which he twice visited.

Fa-hian's very brief and cursory allusion may first be disposed of. Fa-hian says:—

“When you go north-west from the *vihāra* of the Deer-wild park for thirteen *yojanas*, there is a kingdom named Kausāmbī. Its *vihāra* is named Ghochiravana, a place where Buddha formerly resided. Now, as of old, there is a company of monks there, most of whom are students of the *hīnāyāna*.”

The place where Buddha converted the evil demon was eight *yojanas* to the east of Kausāmbī, and “south from this 200 *yojanas*, there is a country named Dakshina.”²

“M. Remusat observes that it may be doubted whether Fa-hian personally visited this kingdom of *Keou-than-mi*. He speaks, indeed, but vaguely of it, and instead of his usual expression, ‘you arrive at such a place,’ ‘you reach such a town,’ he contents himself with simply stating ‘there is such a kingdom.’ The circumstances he reports are common to too great a number of places to enable us to fix its site with precision. The traveller's indications serve only to fix it at about 60 miles N.W. of Benares.—C. L.”³

¹ “Mon. Ant.,” pp. 140, 143. The distances as stated by Cunningham do not exactly agree with the figures given by Führer. The *Epigraphia* uses the spellings Pabhosā and Pābhosā.

² Chs. xxxiv, xxxv in Legge's translation. The versions of Remusat (Laidlay), Beal, and Giles all substantially agree with Dr. Legge's version in this passage.

³ “The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian” (Laidlay), Calcutta, 1848, p. 317. Giles (p. 86) gives the Chinese form of the name as Chū-shan-mi. The various systems for transliterating Chinese vary more widely even than the systems for transliterating Indian languages.

I agree with Remusat and Laidlay, and am convinced that Fa-hian never personally visited Kauśāmbī.

The Deer-park mentioned by Fa-hian is Sārnāth, north of Benares. Thirteen *yojanas* are roughly equivalent to about 92-95 miles, and not 60 as supposed by Laidlay, and if we may read "west" for "north-west," the distance suits Kosam well. Fa-hian was not very careful about his bearings, and his text will bear the interpretation of referring to the place now known as Kosam. It is, however, to be noted that immediately after the mention of Kauśāmbī and the place of conversion of the evil demon, Fa-hian proceeds to describe the "country named Dakshina," or Southern India, and this circumstance suggests the hypothesis that his bearing for Kauśāmbī must be read "south-west" instead of "north-west." Such errors, though they must not rashly be assumed, certainly occur in the text of Fa-hian. A well-known instance is the erroneous statement in Chapter xx that Srāvastī lay eight *yojanas* south of Shā-che, the true bearing being east of north. It seems unlikely that Fa-hian should describe Southern India in immediate connection with a place north-west of Benares. On the other hand, the transition from a locality south-west of Benares to Southern India is natural and easy, and proof will now be given that as a matter of fact the Kauśāmbī of Hiuen Tsiang lay to the south-west of Benares, and also that Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang when speaking of Kauśāmbī referred to the same place.

The much more explicit statements of Hiuen Tsiang, which are perfectly free from ambiguity, and which agree one with the other, will next be discussed.

The passages defining the geographical position of Kauśāmbī are found both in the "Records" and in the "Life," and are three in number, as follows:—

I. "Going from this country [*scil.* Prayāga, or Allahabad] south-west, we enter into a great forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants, which congregate in numbers and molest travellers, so that unless in large numbers it is difficult (*dangerous*) to pass this way. . . .

"Going 500 *li* or so, we come to the country *Kiau-shang-mi* (Kausāmbī). This country is about 6,000 *li* in circuit, and the capital about 30 *li*. . . .

"To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 *li* is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. . . .

"To the north-east of the Nāga dwelling is a great forest, after going about 700 *li* through which, we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of *Kia-shi-po-lo* (Kāśapura). . . .

"Going north from this 170 or 180 *li*, we come to the kingdom of *Pi-so-kia* (Viśākhā). . . . Going from this north-east 500 *li* or so, we come to the kingdom of *Shi-sah-lo-fu-sih-tai* (Srāvastī)." ¹

II. The earlier passage in the "Life" is an abbreviated reproduction of the passage in the "Records" above cited, and is as follows:—

"From this [*scil.* Prayāga], in a south-west direction, we enter a great forest, in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at *Kiau-shang-mi* (Kausāmbī). . . . Going about 500 *li* from this, we come to the kingdom of *Pi-so-kia* (Viśākhā). . . .

"Going north-east from this 500 *li* or so, we arrive at the kingdom of *Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti* (Srāvastī)." ²

III. The later passage in the "Life" refers to Hiuen Tsiang's second visit to Kausāmbī, when he was about to start on his return journey to China, under the escort of Rājā Udhita.

"From the country of Prayāga he went south-west through a great desert waste for seven days, when he arrived at the kingdom of Kausāmbī. To the south of the city is the place where the lord Goshira presented a garden to Buddha.

¹ Beal, i, pp. 234–240. The punctuation of the passage relating to the great forest is erroneous in Beal's printed text, and is corrected in the Errata. I have quoted the passage in its correct form. Julien's version of this important phrase is as follows: "Après avoir fait environ sept cents *li* dans une vaste forêt, qui était située au nord-est de la caverne du dragon, il passa le Gange, et se dirigeant au nord, il arriva à la ville de Kia-che-pou-lo (Kāśapura)."—i, 287. Julien makes the first vowel in Kāśapura long. There is no doubt that the pilgrim means that the distance from Kausāmbī to the place where he crossed the Ganges was 700 *li*.

² Beal, "Life of Hiuen Tsiang," p. 90.

“Having adored the sacred traces again, he proceeded with Udhita-rājā north-west for one month and some days, passing through various countries. Once more he paid adoration to the sacred traces of the heavenly ladder,¹ and then proceeding north-west three *yojanas*, he came to the capital of the country of *Pi-lo-na-na* (Virashana). Here he halted two months.”

Comparison of these three passages proves that—

- (1) Kausāmbī lay to the south-west of Prayāga (Allahabad);
- (2) At a distance of about 500 *li*, or 84 miles;
- (3) The journey between the two places occupied seven days' march with a large camp;
- (4) The road lay through a great forest infested with “savage beasts and wild elephants”;
- (5) The same forest extended north-east of the Nāga's cave, which was south-west of the city, and therefore extended north of Kausāmbī, for a distance of about 700 *li*, or 117 miles, to the Ganges;
- (6) After crossing the Ganges the traveller proceeded an unspecified distance northwards, and reached the town of Kāśapura (or Kāsapura);
- (7) From Kāsapura a journey of 170 or 180 *li*, nearly 30 miles, brought him to Visākḥā;
- (8) From which place the distance to Śrāvastī was about 500 *li*, or 84 miles, in a north-eastern direction.

The abbreviated account in the “Life” omits the Kāsapura stage, but that stage must clearly be inserted as it is in the “Records.”

¹ The “heavenly ladder” was located at the capital of Kapitha (Beal, “Records,” i, 202; Julien, i, 237). Cunningham (“Reports,” i, 271; xi, 22) identifies this place with the Sanskrit Sankāśya and the modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabād District. Like so many of Cunningham's identifications, this has been accepted without criticism, though quite at variance with the facts. By this allegation I mean that the details given by Hiuen Tsiang are irreconcilable with the local facts of Sankisa. The Sankāśya of Fa-hian is the same as the capital of Kapitha. The sacred buildings of the “heavenly ladder” were situated 20 *li*, or about three miles, east of the city of Sankāśya. No city is shown to be traceable three miles west of the Sankisa ruins. Moreover, the *standing elephant* on the pillar at Sankisa cannot be the *sitting or couchant lion* seen by Hiuen Tsiang at the capital of Kapitha. *Pi-lo-na-na* of the “Life” is the *Pi-lo-shan-na* of the “Records.” The transliteration Virasana is doubtful (note in *Errata*, Julien, vol. ii, 573).

The facts above enumerated, which are stated by the pilgrim and his biographer without ambiguity or indistinctness, prove conclusively that the Kausāmbī visited twice by Hiuen Tsiang cannot possibly be represented by the ruins at Kosam, about 30 miles a little south of west of Allahabad. No torturing of figures can extend the distance between Kosam and Allahabad from about 30 miles to 84 miles,¹ or the distance between Kosam and the Ganges from about 21 miles to 117. Nor is there the slightest reason for believing that a great forest full of tigers and wild elephants existed in the seventh century A.D. along the bank of the Jumna in the immediate neighbourhood of Prayāga.

Nor is it possible that Hiuen Tsiang and his escort should have taken seven days to march about thirty miles.

Cunningham in vain labours to show that by one road the distance between Kosam and Allahabad may be extended to 35, or even 37, miles, but the highest of these figures would not justify the statement that the journey occupied seven days, nor can the description of the pilgrim's route be made to suit the country along the bank of the Jumna between Allahabad and Kosam.

The language of the texts means unmistakably that the pilgrim, when going from Prayāga to Kausāmbī, travelled in a south-westerly direction through the still existing forests of Karwī and Rīwā, and that when he journeyed northwards towards Śrāvastī he passed through a more westerly part of the same forest, until after a journey of 115-120 miles he emerged on the bank of the Ganges.

The general course of the Ganges above Allahabad is from north-west to south-east. Kausāmbī was situated at a distance of from 84 to 90 miles in a south-westerly

¹ An unlucky note in Beal's "Records," ii, 234, that the distance between Prayāga and Kausāmbī "is properly 50 *li* as stated by Hwui-lih," the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang, misled Cunningham. The blunder is corrected in the "Life," p. 91, note 1. Both Hiuen Tsiang and his biographer state the distance as 500 *li*, and the statement is emphasized by the explanation that the journey occupied seven days. 500 *li* of Hiuen Tsiang commonly correspond to 12 *yojanas* of Fa-hian, and either expression is roughly equivalent to from 84-90 English miles.

direction from Prayāga (Allahabad). Application of a pair of compasses will show that the nearest point on the Ganges which would be about 115 miles from a point on an arc about 85 miles distant in a south-westerly direction from Allahabad is Dalmāu Ghāt. In fact, the choice lies between Dalmāu Ghāt (ferry) and Baksar Ghāt, a little higher up the stream. Both these spots are permanent ancient crossing places, and both are marked by ancient remains. Dalmāu, in the Rāi Bareli District of Oudh, is the scene of an annual fair of considerable repute and sanctity, and its conspicuous and remarkable so-called "fort" may really be, as Dr. Führer supposed, based on the remains of Buddhist *stūpas*.¹

Baksar (Vakāśrama), in the Unāo District of Oudh, is also a very holy place, with a lofty mound near.²

Gunīr, on the opposite bank in the Fathpur District,³ is certainly a Buddhist site. Dr. Hoey possesses a Buddhist image found there. Ancient and much frequented roads lead from the crossing places at Baksar and Dalmāu northwards and pass innumerable ancient sites, among which may be named Pātan-Bihār, Rāi Bareli, and Lucknow.

Hiuen Tsiang does not state the distance of Kāśapura from the bank of the river, but inasmuch as Kāśapura was not more than 680 *li* from Śrāvastī, the true site of which has now been determined in lat. 28° 7' N. and long. 81° 50' E., Kāśapura must have lain at a very considerable distance from the Ganges. In the second part of this paper I shall suggest the identification of Kāśapura with ruins near Mohanlālganj south of Lucknow, and of Viśākhā with Kursī north of Lucknow.

I think it practically certain that Hiuen Tsiang, when going from Kausāmbī to Śrāvastī, crossed the Ganges either opposite Dalmāu or opposite Baksar. The distance between these two ferries is only about 23 miles.

¹ "Monum. Ant. and Inscr.," p. 321. Dr. Führer wrongly uses the spelling Dalmāu. The first vowel is short. I know the place well.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

From this reasoning the result follows that the Kausāmbī twice visited by Hiuen Tsiang is to be looked for, and, when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native States of the Baghelkhand Agency, in the valley of the Tons River, and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutna) railway station marks the *approximate* position of Kausāmbī.

The celebrated Buddhist ruins at Bharhut (Bharaut) in the Nāgaudh State satisfy the conditions of geographical position with almost absolute accuracy. They are situated about nine miles a little east of south from Satnā railway station, about 90 to 92 miles south-west of Allahabad,¹ and about 120 miles from the bank of the Ganges opposite Baksar. I do *not* affirm that the known remains at or close to Bharhut are those of Kausāmbī. I only say that, so far as position is concerned, they might be, and that Kausāmbī certainly was not very distant from Bharhut. The great mound at Kho, three miles west of Uchahara and about twelve miles west from Bharhut, is said to mark the site of "the capital of the Teliyā Rājas," and might prove to be Kausāmbī, though Cunningham found nothing Buddhist there.² Whatever place may prove to be the site of Hiuen Tsiang's Kausāmbī, it will, when properly looked for, be found not very far from Satnā, Kho, or Bharhut.

916d.
Bharhut
is said to
be correct.

To return for a moment to Fa-hian. Although with the correction of "north-west" to "west," the text of Fa-hian, read by itself, may be interpreted as referring to Kosam, it is obvious that if Hiuen Tsiang's Kausāmbī is not Kosam, and if both Hiuen Tsiang and Fa-hian refer to the same place by the name Kausāmbī, then the Kausāmbī of Fa-hian cannot be Kosam. There can be no doubt that both pilgrims mean the same place when they speak of Kausāmbī.

¹ Cunningham's work on the "Stūpa of Bharhut" opens with the extraordinarily erroneous assertion that Bharhut "is exactly 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad." According to the scale of his map in the same volume the distance is about 98 miles. The map in vol. vii of the "Reports" makes the distance to be about 90 miles. Other maps which I have used indicate the distance as about 92 miles.

² Cunningham, "Reports," ix, 7.

The one definite detail concerning Kausāmbī mentioned by Fa-hian is, that "its *vihāra* is named Ghochiravana—a place where Buddha formerly resided."

Hiuen Tsiang says :—

"Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, is an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This is the house of Ghōshira (Kun-shi-lo) the nobleman. In the middle is a *vihāra* of Buddha, and a *stūpa* containing hair and nail relics. There are also ruins of Tathāgata's bathing-house.

"Not far to the south-east of the city is an old *sanghārāma*. This was formerly the place where Gōshira the nobleman had a garden. In it is a *stūpa* built by Asoka-rāja, about 200 feet high."¹

Āsvaghoṣa states that Buddha, "coming to the Kausāmbī country, converted Goshira."²

The express association by both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang of Goṣira with Kausāmbī renders inadmissible the hypothesis that the two pilgrims speak of different places. Consequently, inasmuch as Hiuen Tsiang's Kausāmbī is not Kosam, Fa-hian's Kausāmbī is not Kosam either.

Fa-hian, as has been shown, did not visit Kausāmbī, the position of which was extremely out of the way. His brief note about the place was recorded from information received, and either in the original manuscript, or in the process of copying, "north-west" was written by mistake for "south-west." The distance, too, of 13 *yojanas*, equivalent to 90-95 miles, is too short. The direct distance from Sārnāth, north of Benares, to Bharhut, the approximate position of Kausāmbī, is about 136 miles or 18 *yojanas*. Therefore, in Fa-hian's text, for "north-west, thirteen *yojanas*," I would substitute "south-west, eighteen (or nineteen) *yojanas*." The text is certainly wrong, being inconsistent with the precise data of Hiuen Tsiang, which I accept exactly as they stand in his text.

I claim, therefore, to have proved that Kosam, although identified with Kausāmbī by the Jains in modern times, is

¹ Beal, "Records," i, 236. I am not responsible for the vagaries in spelling of the name Goṣira.

² "Sacred Books of the East," xix, p. 245.

not the Kausāmbī associated by early Buddhist legend with the conversion of Goṣira, and which was noticed by Fa-hian and described in detail by Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the place twice.

I cannot explain how or why Kosam came to bear the name it has, or why the Jains believe it to be Kausāmbī. Perhaps at one time the capital of the kingdom was at Kosam, and at another time near Bharhut.

But the existence of this difficulty, at present unexplained, does not in the least affect the cogency of the arguments adduced above.¹

The foregoing arguments, by which the erroneousness of the received belief in the identity of Kosam and Kausāmbī has been in my judgment demonstrated, are concerned solely with geographical position. In connection with this part of my subject I may point out that Cunningham dwells on "the happy position of Bharhut at the northern end of the long narrow valley of Mahiyar, near the point where the high road from Ujjain and Bhilsa turns to the north towards Kosāmbi and Srāvasti. That Kosāmbi itself was one of the usual halting-places between Ujjain and Pātaliputra, we have a convincing proof in the curious story of the famous physician Jivaka of Rājagriha."

Cunningham then proceeds to cite legends from Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," which place Kausāmbī 50 *yojanas* from Ujjain, and mention "Godhi, Divisā, Walsewet" as intermediate places.²

The direct distance between Ujjain and Bharhut measured on Keith Johnston's map of India is about 340 miles.

¹ I have assumed throughout that the Chinese names given by Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang are correctly represented by the name Kausāmbī. Julien gives the Chinese as *Kin-chen-mi*, and explains as "*seute pour Kiao-chang-mi (Kausāmbī)*" (*Liste des Mots abrégés*, vol. ii, p. 559). Beal adopts the form *Kiau-shang-mi*, as if it really stood in the text of Hiuen Tsiang ("Records," i, 235). Legge gives no transliteration. Giles transliterates *Chü-shan-mi*, and says that the second character is *shan*, not *chang*. The form *chang* used by Julien for French readers should of course be read as *shang* in English. Inasmuch as both the Buddhist and Brahman legends associate Kausāmbī with King Udāyana, they must both refer to the same place, and it appears necessary to transliterate the Chinese names as Kausāmbī.

² "Stūpa of Bharhut," p. 1.

Taking the *yojana* as equivalent to about seven miles, the approximate distance of 50 *yojanas* ($7 \times 50 = 350$) given in the legend agrees well with the position for Kausāmbī deduced from Hiuen Tsiang's data. The distance to Kosam, some 90 miles greater, cannot possibly be made to agree with the estimate of 50 *yojanas*.

The circumstance that Cunningham held erroneous beliefs concerning the sites of Kausāmbī and Śrāvastī does not affect the fact that Bharhut lies on the ancient road between Ujjain and Northern India. The neighbourhood of Bharhut on the old line of road is therefore a likely position for the capital of a kingdom.

Kausāmbī is the scene of the Ratnāvalī drama, of which the main subject is the love of Udāyana or Vatsa, prince of Kausāmbī, or Vatsa pattana, for Vasava-dattā, princess of Ujjain. This story is more easily intelligible when the kingdoms of Kausāmbī and Ujjain are regarded as neighbours. Hiuen Tsiang estimates that the countries of Kausāmbī and Ujjain were of the same size, each being 6,000 *li* (nearly 1,000 miles) in circuit. If we assume that the capital of the Kausāmbī country was near Bharhut, the two countries must have been neighbours. The pilgrim gives no indication of the existence of any kingdom or country between them. The kingdom of Chi-ki-to, or Chi-chi-to ("Records," ii, 271), was north-east of Ujjain in the direction of Jhānsī and Mahoba, and was probably the same as Jijhoti or Bundelkhand.

According to my view the kingdom of Kausāmbī was roughly equivalent to Rīwā, and marched with the kingdoms of Prayāga, Jijhoti, and Ujjain.

I now proceed to discuss the topography of Kausāmbī, as described by Hiuen Tsiang, and that of Kosam, as described by Cunningham and Führer, and to show that the geographical argument against the identity of Kausāmbī and Kosam, though so strong in itself as to need no support, is supported by the topographical argument. To illustrate the topography I make use of an expedient which has proved serviceable on other occasions, and summarize Hiuen

Tsiang's description in the form of a map drawn roughly to scale.

That description tells us of a large city some three miles and a half in diameter, lying south-west of Allahabad, with a great forest extending for many miles to the north and north-east of the city.

The city in the seventh century A.D. possessed ten ruinous and nearly deserted Buddhist monasteries, and was inhabited by an "enormous number" of orthodox Hindus, who were provided with about fifty temples. Certain important Buddhist monuments were still recognizable, and the Chinese pilgrim devotes his detailed description to these. Inside the city the most notable sacred place was the temple, about 60 feet high, containing the sandal-wood statue of Buddha. The precise position of this temple is not indicated, but it stood within an old palace, and was probably not far from the centre of the city. A well, supposed to be that at which Buddha bathed, still existed east of the temple. The bath-house had been destroyed long before, though the site was still remembered. A group of buildings in the south-east corner of the city, consisting of a temple, a *stūpa*, the ruins of the house of Goṣira, and the ruins of another bath-house, was associated with the legend of Goṣira.

Outside the walls the remains described by the pilgrim fell into two groups, one lying to the south-west and the other to the south-east.

The south-eastern group, "not far from"¹ the city walls, consisted of a great *stūpa* about 200 feet high, ascribed to Aśoka (No. 5), a monastery (No. 4) in the garden of Goṣira, another *stūpa* (No. 6) containing relics of Buddha's hair and nails, the double-storied tower of Vasubandhu (No. 7), and a building connected with Asaṅga (No. 8).

The south-western group consisted of another great Aśoka *stūpa*, also 200 feet high (No. 10), another hair and nails

¹ The phrase translated "not far from" in Hiuen Tsiang's book means always, so far as I have been able to test it, "adjacent," or "quite close to."

stūpa (No. 11), and the stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga (No. 9). This group lay nearly a mile and a half from the city. Julien uses the words "caverne en pierre," or "cave in the rock," for the phrase "stone dwelling" of Mr. Beal.

Cunningham's attempts to identify the sites above enumerated with particular remains at Kosam are most unsatisfactory. His assumption that the mound near the centre of the great fort at Kosam corresponds with the temple of the sandal-wood statue is arbitrary, and rests solely on the prior assumption that Kosam is the Kausāmbī of Hiuen Tsiang.

Cunningham makes no attempt to show that there are any traces of the great *stūpa* of Aśoka, 200 feet high, to the south-east of the fort. He assumes that the village of Kosam Khirāj occupies the site of the *stūpa* merely because squared stones of all sorts, including some fragments of a *stūpa* railing, are found in the village. But such stones may well have been removed from the interior of the adjoining "fort" or city. If the village occupies the site of a huge *stūpa*, traces of a great circular building should still be visible, and Cunningham does not profess to have found any such traces.

The attempt at identification of the south-western group is equally unsatisfactory.

The ruins at Kosam occupy the northern bank of the river Jumna, standing on the cliff. There is no room for any group of remains to the south-west ("Reports," vol. i, pl. xlviii), and Cunningham can only say that—

"If Hwen Thsang's south-west bearing is correct, the holy cave [i.e. the dwelling of the Nāga] must have been carried away long ago by the encroachment of the Jumna, as the clear reach of the river above Kosāmbī, as far as the hill of Prabhāsa, a distance of four miles, now bears 282° from the south-west of the old city, or 12° to the north of west. The hill of Prabhāsa, which is on the left bank of the Jumna, is the only rock in the *Antarved* or Doab of the Ganges and Jumna. In a hollow between its two peaks stands a modern Jain temple, but there is no cavern, and no trace of any ancient buildings." (i, p. 311.)

At a subsequent visit Cunningham came to the conclusion that the rock-cave, or stone dwelling, of the Nāga mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is to be identified with the ancient cave in the hill of Pabhosā. In making this identification Cunningham has been followed by Dr. Führer, and both these scholars have not hesitated to tamper with Hiuen Tsiang's text in order to support their view. The Nāga's abode was situated, according to the pilgrim, at a distance of about eight or nine *li*, that is to say, about a mile and a half, *south-west* of the city.

"At my previous visits," Cunningham writes, "I had looked for this cave on the bank of the Jumna to the west of the city, just outside the village of Pāli. The south-west bearing is quite impossible, as the general course of the Jumna above the city is from north-west to south-east. . . . It is true that the hill of Pabhosa is three miles to the north-west of the great fort at Garhwā [*scil.* the fortified enclosure between Kosam Khirāj and Kosam Inām], but it is not more than two miles from the present villages of Kosam [Inām] and Pāli, which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort.

"On reaching the hill of Pabhosa I found that there was not only a cave high up on the face of the hill, but that there was also a Nāga, or serpent, of which everybody had heard, but which no one had seen. . . .

"The cave is artificial, and is simply an old quarry with a pillar left in front for the support of the roof. In front there is a Jain temple, and there are three standing Jain figures cut in the rock above. . . .

"The Chinese pilgrim mentions that there was a stûpa of Asoka, about 200 feet high, beside the cave, but no traces of such a building could be found. It is very probable, however, that the present Jain temple occupies the site of some ancient building."

In March, 1887, Dr. Führer had himself lowered by ropes from the top of the cliff and entered the cave, where he discovered interesting inscriptions of kings named Bahasati mitra and Āsāḍhasena.¹ These inscriptions are in characters

¹ These inscriptions had previously been brought to notice by Mr. Cockburn, who viewed them with a telescope from a distance.

of the first or second centuries B.C. They have no reference to Buddhism. The only passage which could be interpreted as Buddhistic is the mention of the "Kassapiya [Kāśyapiya] Arhats." Dr. Bühler points out that these words may be interpreted either as "the Buddhists of the Kāśyapiya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna, who was a Kāśyapa by *gotra*." Considering that the cave is a Jain holy place, with a Jain temple in front of it, and Jain images cut in the rock above, it is obvious that the second alternative interpretation is the only legitimate one, and that the dedication by King Āśādhasena must be interpreted as referring to the religion of the Jain Vardhamāna, and not to Buddhism.

The Jain
and the
spot as the
birth place
of one of their
gurus.

I am not concerned with the identity of Pabhosā and Prabhāsa, because I am not aware of any independent evidence connecting Prabhāsa with Kauśāmbī. But the Pabhosā cave does not correspond either in distance or direction with the Nāga's dwelling visited by Hiuen Tsiang, and it is Jain, not Buddhist. The absence of the slightest trace of the huge south-western *stūpa*, still 200 feet high in the seventh century, is very inadequately accounted for by the remark that "it is very probable that the present Jain temple occupies the site of some ancient building."

The plain truth is, that the facts of Pabhosā do not in any respect tally with the description of the Nāga's dwelling recorded by Hiuen Tsiang, and that the only reason for tampering with the pilgrim's text is a prior determination to believe in the identity of Kosam and Kauśāmbī.

While not denying the existence of occasional errors in the statements of distances and bearings in the texts of both Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang, I protest strongly against the practice of shirking difficulties by facile alterations of the texts. Cunningham was far too prone to indulge in this easy method of clearing away difficulties which stood in the way of his favourite beliefs, and many of his errors can be traced to his unwillingness to accept historical documents as they stand, and his willingness to read black where the author had written white.

Many passages in the texts of the Chinese pilgrims in which Cunningham rashly proposed emendations can now be proved to be accurate.

Cunningham admits that, as he failed to find any trace of the great Aśoka *stūpa* to the south-west of Kausāmbī, he equally failed to find any trace of the equally great *stūpa* with its accompanying monastery to the south-east.¹

The result of all this detailed discussion is, that I affirm with confidence that on topographical as well as on geographical grounds the identification of the remains at Kosam and Pabhosā with the Kausāmbī of the Chinese pilgrims is demonstrated to be impossible.

I need hardly say that the existence of a legend about the presence of a venomous serpent in an inaccessible cave is no proof that such cave is the Nāga's dwelling mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Legends of snakes and dragons are associated with most old places.

In order to leave no supposed proof of the identity of Kosam and Kausāmbī unnoticed, I may add that the stone inscription from Karrā on the Ganges, forty-one miles north-west of Allahabad, does not prove that Karrā was in the kingdom of Kausāmbī. It states that "in Sambat 1092 (A.D. 1035), on the 1st of the light half of Ashādhā, the paramount sovereign Yaso-pāla of Kātē, at the village of Payahāsa, in the kingdom of Kausāmbī, issues commands to the principal persons"

This statement, if correctly translated, only proves that the village of Payahāsa, wherever that may have been, was included in the kingdom of Kausāmbī.²

Cunningham's identification of the two-storied tower of Vasubandhu, in the south-eastern group of the Kausāmbī sacred places, with a chamber in the Tikrī mound utilized by the Trigonometrical Survey as an observing station, is quite unconvincing.³

¹ Führer, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 240; Cunningham, "Reports," xxi, pp. 1-3, and pl. ii.

² Cunningham, "Reports," xvii, 95, quoting Prinsep in J.A.S.B., v, 731.

³ "Reports," xxi, 3.

II. ŚRĀVASTĪ.

The determination of the true position of the site of Śrāvastī depends on the geographical relation of that city to the two fixed points, Kanauj and Kapilavastu. The recent discovery of Kapilavastu renders the solution of the problem much more easy and certain than it was when Cunningham unsuccessfully attempted the task.

From Kanauj Fa-hian proceeded to cross the Ganges, and travelling in a southern direction, reached, at a distance of three *yojanas*, the forest, or village, of Ā-le.¹

Hiuēn Tsiang, travelling 100 *li* (17 or 18 miles) south-east of Kanauj, and crossing the Ganges, arrived at Navadevakula, which is unquestionably Newal in the Unāo District of Oudh, distant about 18 miles in a direct line south-east from Kanauj.²

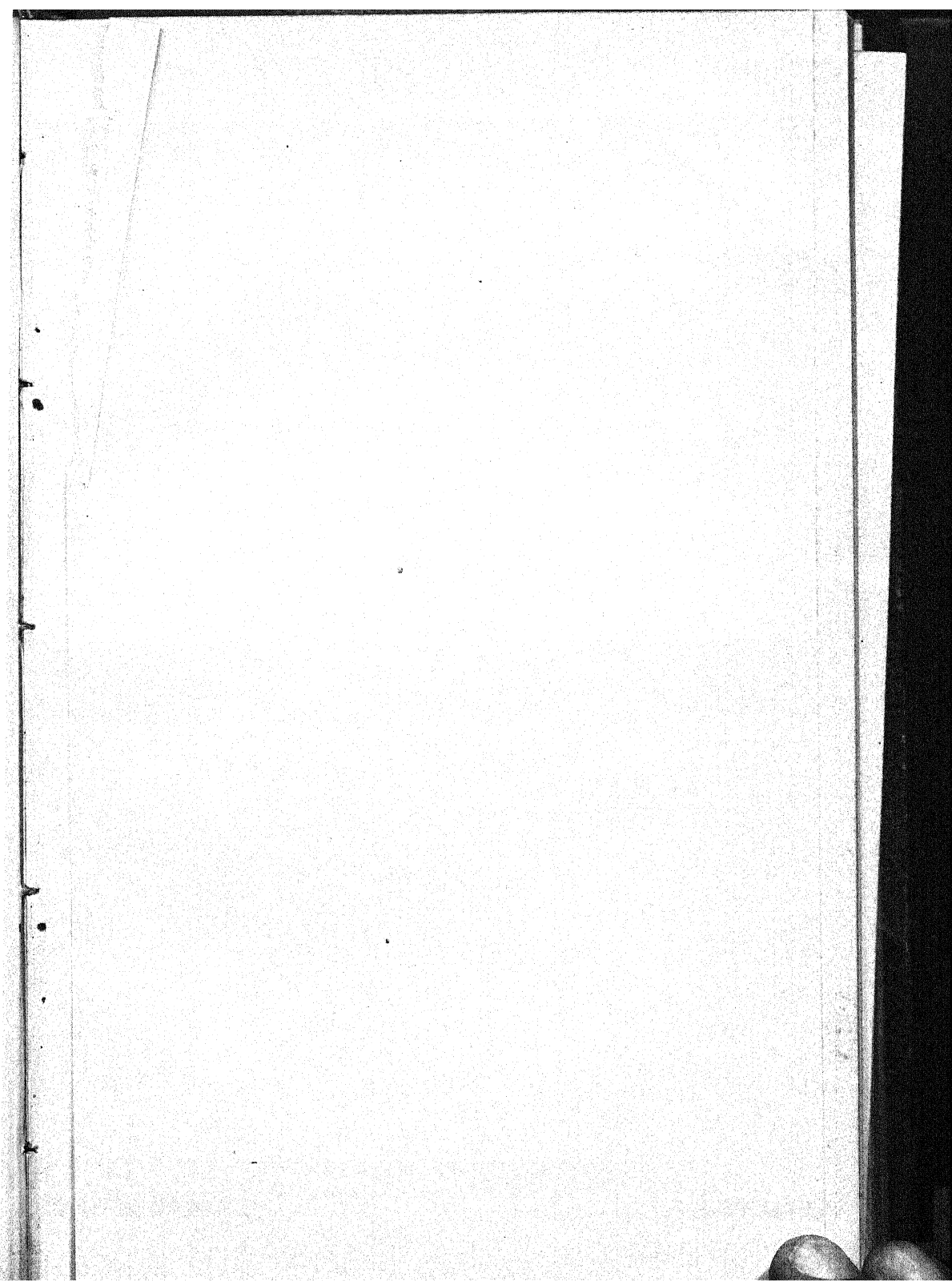
The slightly greater distance of three *yojanas*, or about 21-23 miles, traversed by Fa-hian, indicates that the place called Ā-le by him must be either Bāngarmāu or Jogī Koṭ.³

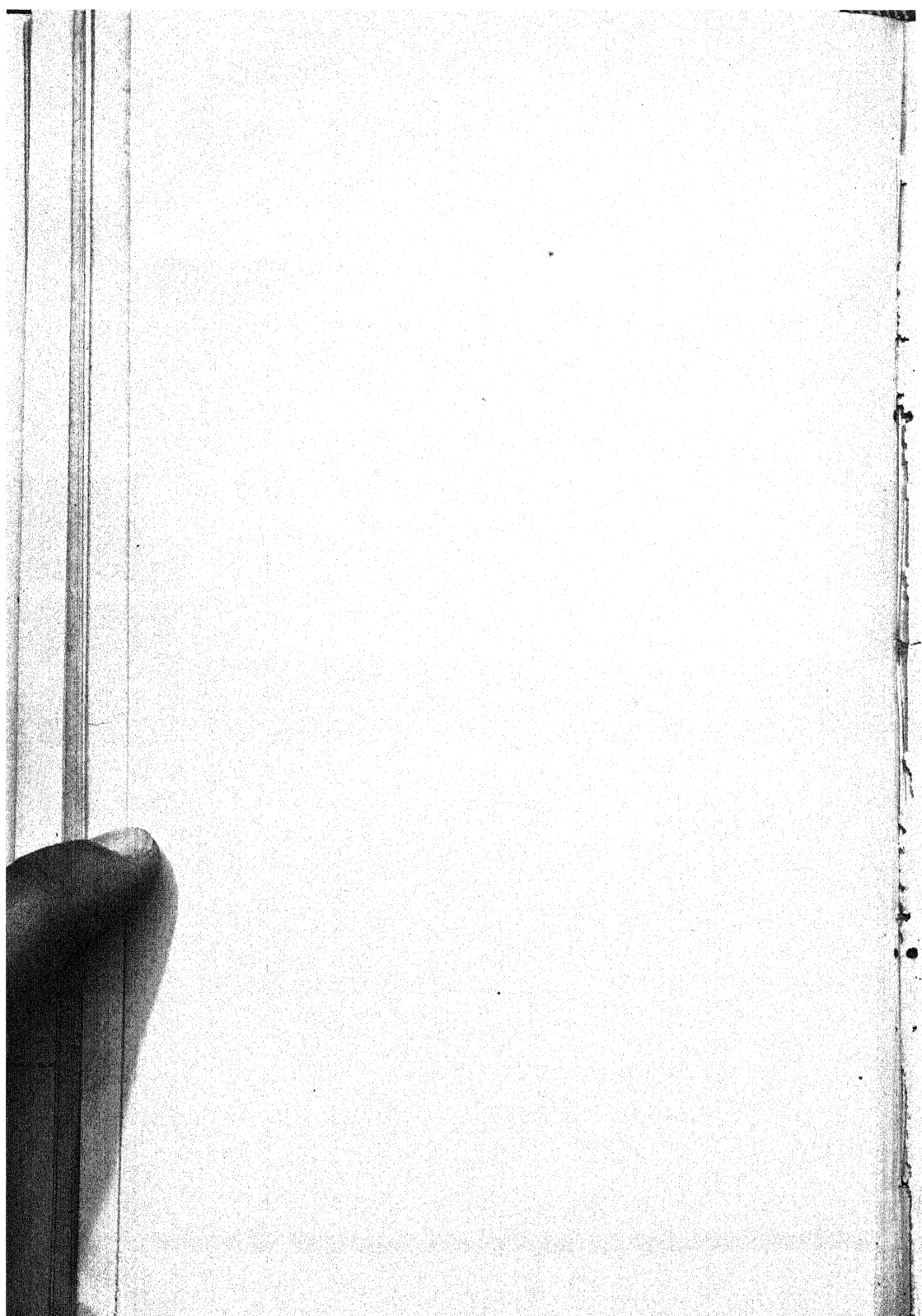
¹ Fa-hian, ch. xviii. The name is variously spelt—Ā-le (Legge), A-li (Giles), A-lo (Beal), and Ho-li (Laidlay). The Korean text used by Legge calls the place a "village"; the Chinese texts used by the other translators call it a "forest." As there were *stūpas* at Ā-le, it is clear that the place was not merely a forest. The town of Ālavī, mentioned in Buddhist works, and described as "a city near a large forest" (*ālavī*), is probably the same as Alov mentioned in the "Manual of Buddhism," the country of Ālawēi referred to in Yule's "Cathay," and the town called Ālabhiyā or Ālabhī by the Jains. Dr. Hoernle's suggestion that these various names all correspond to the Ā-le of Fa-hian seems plausible ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," pp. 89, 271). The legend of the king of Alov will be found in Hardy's "Manual," 2nd ed., p. 269.

² "To the south-east of the capital, going about 100 *li*, we come to the town of Na-po-ti-po-kulo (Navadevakula). It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and is about 20 *li* in circuit." (Beal, "Records," i, 223.)

The mound of ruins at Newal covers a space of about 15 acres, and is situated on the high bank of the old Ganges now known as the Kalyānī Nadi. According to tradition Newal represents a city older than Bāngarmāu, which is said to date from Muhammadan times. The ancient remains at Newal consist of five mounds, one of which is only a mile from the mounds of Bāngarmāu.

³ Jogī Koṭ is "perched on a large ancient *kherā* [*scil.* mound]. A statue of Pārvatī, locally called Phulmatī Devī, bears a short dedicatory inscription in characters of the fifth century," that is to say, about contemporary with Fa-hian. ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," p. 271.)





most probably the latter. The former is about 21 miles, and the latter about 23 miles, in a direct line from Kanauj. Bāngarmāu is only about two miles south-east from Newal, and the two places, in fact, form a single site. Jogī Koṭ, about five miles north-east of Bāngarmāu, may be regarded as a suburb of the old city, and as the Ā-le of Fa-hian. Both Newal and Bāngarmāu are on the ancient line of road connecting Mathurā, Kanauj, and Ajodhya. Six ferries across the Ganges are in the neighbourhood. Sañchānkoṭ, or Rāmkoṭ, on the Sāi river, distant about 25 miles in a direct line from Kanauj, lies too far east to be Ā-le. The identification by Dr. Führer of Sañchānkoṭ with Shā-che is absolutely impossible.

Practically, the result is that the Ā-le of Fa-hian corresponds almost exactly with the Navadevakula of Hiuen Tsiang, Ā-le being Jogī Koṭ, four and a half miles east of Newal (Sheet 3 of Map of Oudh) and a suburb or appendage of the city Navadevakula, which was 20 *li* (or more than three miles) in circuit. From this point the difficulty begins.

The Chinese texts make Fa-hian go from Ā-le *ten gojanas* south-east in order to arrive at "the great kingdom of Shā-che." This statement takes the traveller to the neighbourhood of Dataulī in the Rāi Bareli District. This village, Dataulī, occupies a favourable position at a point where five important roads meet, eight miles north-west from the ancient crossing-place at Dalmāu. Ruins are known to exist at Sāthanpur, north-west, and at Bahāi, south-east of Dataulī. I do not know whether or not there are signs of antiquity at Dataulī itself.¹

The Corean text gives the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che as *three*, instead of ten *gojanas*. This statement brings the traveller either to Pariār on the Ganges, opposite Bithūr,

¹ These places will be found on Sheet 5 of the Map of Oudh. Dataulī, being situated at a point where five roads meet, one of which comes from Dalmāu Ghāt and another from Baksar Ghāt, was probably in ancient times a place of some importance. It is now only a village. Bahāi, which lies between Dataulī and Dalmāu, has two large mounds strewn with bricks. There are ruins also at Sāthanpur and other places in the neighbourhood. Dalmāu, which I have visited, is a very ancient place. A considerable fair is held there annually.

or to Ūnwan, on the high road to Unāo, about six miles north-east of Pariār. Ancient remains exist at Mākhi, Rāo, and probably other places near Ūnwan. Pariār is a sacred bathing-place, and was the scene, according to tradition, of a great battle in the olden time.¹

The topographical details given by Fa-hian concerning Shā-che are so meagre that the site of almost any ancient town would suit his description, which merely mentions the spot where Buddha's tooth-brush became a tree,² and the usual *stūpas* commemorating the places where the four Buddhas walked and sat.

Shā-che is not mentioned by Hsien Tsiang, and does not appear to have been visited by him. Consequently, it is impossible to check Fa-hian's statements and to decide which distance from Ā-le to Shā-che is correct—ten *yojanas* or three. There is no difficulty in finding an ancient site at either distance. I feel indisposed to believe that before turning northwards to Śrāvastī, Fa-hian went so far south as the neighbourhood of Dalmāu, and I am inclined to accept the Corean text as correct, and to place Shā-che at or near Ūnwan, which stands at a point where four roads meet, exactly 21 miles from Bāngarmāu, and about the same distance from Jogī Koṭ, or Ā-le. Local research is required to determine which of the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Ūnwan should be accepted as the equivalent of Shā-che. For geographical purposes Ūnwan may be accepted as sufficiently accurate. From Ūnwan to the probable site of Śrāvastī the distance in a north-easterly direction is about 132 miles as measured on the map, or some 18 or 19 *yojanas*.

An obvious error in the distance and bearing of Śrāvastī

¹ Pariār is noticed by Führer in "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," p. 272. For the information that remains exist at Mākhi and Rāo I am indebted to Dr. Hoey. Ūnwan is situated in about lat. 26° 11' N., long. 80° 27' E., and about 15 miles a little east of north from Cawnpore.

² The tooth-brush legend was attached to many widely separated places, and does not help to fix the position of Shā-che. In using the spelling Shā-che I follow Legge. The name is spelled Sha-chi and Sha-chih by other translators.

from Shā-che unfortunately exists in all the texts of Fa-hian, and prevents us from determining the position of Shā-che by a cross measurement. The text makes the traveller to say that going from Shā-che to the south for eight *yojanas* he came to the city of Śrāvastī, in the kingdom of Kosala. This bearing and this distance are manifestly and admittedly erroneous. In a later passage (chs. xxi and xxii) Fa-hian correctly places Śrāvastī nearly 13 *yojanas* north-west of Kapilavastu, which agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's estimate that Kapilavastu was "500 *li* or so" south-east from the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa Buddha near Śrāvastī. The site of Kapilavastu being now known with certainty, we know *within 3 or 4 miles* that Śrāvastī must be looked for at a distance of about 84-90 miles from Kapilavastu in a north-westerly direction. Consequently no further argument is needed to prove the existence of a glaring error in the statement of the bearing and distance of Shā-che from Śrāvastī as given in the texts of Fa-hian's book.

Śrāvastī, by reason of its position in relation to Kapilavastu, unquestionably lay in a north-easterly direction from Shā-che, whether that place is to be looked for at Ūnwan or at Dataulī. From Ūnwan the direct distance to the probable site of Śrāvastī, north-east, is about 132 miles, or 18 *yojanas*. From Dataulī the distance would be about 35 miles, or five *yojanas*, greater.

As already observed, I am inclined to place Shā-che in the neighbourhood of Ūnwan. I would therefore correct Fa-hian's bearing and distance of Śrāvastī from Shā-che by substituting "to the north-east" and "18 (or 19) *yojanas*" for the words "to the south" and "8 *yojanas*."

Hiuen Tsiang approached Śrāvastī by a different route, travelling from Kauśāmbī, viâ Kāśapura and Viśākhā. He crossed the river, as I have shown, at almost certainly either Baksar or Dalmāu. The distance in a northerly direction to Kāśapura is not stated. I think Hiuen Tsiang kept a considerable distance east of Fa-hian's route, and consequently did not go near Shā-che. Kāśapura may very plausibly be identified with the group of ruins centreing

round Mohanlālganj, which are described as follows by Dr. Führer :—

“Mohanlālganj, tahsīl, 14 miles south of Lakhnâû, is built on the land of the old village of Chorhân-kâ-Mâû, which, however, is devoid of any remains; but the pargana of Mohanlālganj abounds in about 20 old *dîhs*, which are sometimes of great elevation and extent. They are quite deserted, and the only signs of the ancient habitations are the broken bricks which lie scattered over the mounds, and occasionally a hut on the summit devoted to some deified hero, who is worshipped under the title of Bir. These mounds are usually ascribed to the Bhârs [*sic*]; but they are in fact the deserted sites of Buddhist towns and forts. The greatest of these mounds are at Pahâr-nagar Tikurîa, Siris, and Nagrâm.

“Nagrâm, the ancient Nalagrâma, possesses the ruins of a large fort, the site of which, a high mound in the centre of the village, still exists. It seems to have fallen in the track of Sa'id [*sic*] Sâlâr's invasion; for on the mound of the fort are the dargâhs of Munarwar and Anwar Shahîds, and outside [are] the tomb of Pîran Hâjî Bard, and a Ganj Shahîdân. A very interesting *kankar* image, representing Śiva and Pârvatî, has lately been dug out of the fort mound, and has been placed in the Lucknow Museum.”¹

Kursî, in the Bârabankî District, about 27 miles in a direct line from Mohanlālganj, corresponds admirably in position with Visâkhâ, which was 170 or 180 *li* (less than 30 miles) from Kâsapura.

Dr. Führer describes Kursî as follows :—

“Kursî, town in tahsīl Faṭhpûr, lat. 27° 8' N., long. 81° 9' E., . . . is perched on a high *dîh*, the site of an old fort, said to have been called Kesrîgarh. The only objects of interest are the masjîd of Sirâj-ud-dîn, built during the reign of Shâh Jahân in A.H. 1063; a masjîd in Qâzî tôlâ, built during the reign of

¹ “Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions,” p. 267. In this work the compiler persistently has used the mis-spellings Bhâr for Bhar and Sa'id for Sayyid.

Mohanlālganj will be found on Sheet 3 of the Surveyor General's Map of Oudh (four miles to the inch). One of the four roads which meet there comes from Baksar Ghât. Nagrâm is about 11 miles south-east of Mohanlālganj. Pahâr-nagar is about seven and a half miles a little east of north from the same centre, and Siris about seven miles a little east of south from the same. Of course, I cannot pretend to say which of the numerous mounds actually represent Kâsapura. I do not know whether or not there is authority for giving Nalagrâma as the Sanskrit equivalent of Nagrâm.

'Ālamgīr; and the masjid of Sa'adat Ali Khān, erected in A.H. 1193, as is apparent from the Persian inscriptions inside these buildings.

"About two miles to the north of Kursi lies the village of Mansar, or Mahsand, on a very high brick-covered *dih* of great extent, and below it on the north is a huge well built of slabs of *kankar*, and ascribed to the Bhārs [*sic*]. The tomb of Sa'id [*sic*] Nūr Ali Shāh, who is revered as a *shahīd*, is a commonplace building. At the neighbouring village of Ghugtār there is another large brick-strewn mound."¹

I cannot affirm positively that the ruins near Mohanlālganj and Kursi respectively are those of Kāsapura and Visākhā. Ruined cities are too numerous in Oudh to warrant hasty assumptions that sites which suit fairly well in geographical position are necessarily the precise sites sought for. But I feel confident that the direction in which both Kāsapura and Visākhā should be looked for has been indicated with approximate correctness. The exact sites cannot be determined without detailed local research.² Visākhā must be sought within a distance of 15 or 20 miles from Lucknow, to the north or north-east. I have selected Kursi as the site because it is about 16 miles from Lucknow, a little to the east of north, and is on a main road. The ancient lines of road have often remained unchanged to the present day. Kāsapura must be sought about 30 miles south or south-west from Visākhā, that is to say, between Lucknow and the Ganges, and not more than 15 miles from Lucknow.

Fa-hian (ch. xxi), travelling south-east from the city of Śrāvastī for twelve *yojanas* (84-90 miles), came to the birthplace of Krakucanda Buddha, called Na-pei-keā (Legge). Less than a *yojana* (say five or six miles) north from this place lay the town, the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha, from which Kapilavastu lay less than a *yojana* to the east.

¹ "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions," p. 264. Kursi will be found on the same sheet of the map as Mohanlālganj.

² Mahonā, lat. 27° 5' N., long. 80° 55' E., situated 15 miles north of Lucknow, is another possible site for Visākhā. Several mounds of ruins are in the neighbourhood (Führer, p. 267).

The Lumbinī Garden, the scene of the birth of Gautama Buddha, lay about 50 *li* (eight or nine miles) further east.

Hiuen Tsiang (Beal, ii, 13) reckons the distance to Kapilavastu as about 500 *li* (84 to 90 miles) from the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa Buddha, which stood to the north of a town about 16 *li* (three miles) north-west of Śrāvastī. Five hundred *li* of Hiuen Tsiang are the regular equivalent of 12 *yojanas* of Fa-hian. The two travellers, therefore, agree substantially in their accounts of the bearing and distance of Kapilavastu from Śrāvastī.

But Hiuen Tsiang (Beal, ii, 24) places the Lumbinī Garden at a distance of 80 or 90 *li* (about 16 miles) to the north-east of the "arrow-well" near Kapilavastu. In this detail the later pilgrim is the more correct. We know the position of the Lumbinī Garden with certainty, owing to the recent discovery of the Aśoka pillar there. We know for a like reason the exact position of the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni, and we therefore know the position of Kapilavastu.¹

The site of the Lumbinī Garden is a mound of ruins about 120 paces in length and breadth, situated about half a mile west of north from the village of Paḍariā.

Paḍariā (Pararia), in Nepāl, in approximately lat. 27° 30' N. and long. 83° 18' E. The mound is within a loop of the Tilār Nadī (the River of Oil), which surrounds it on three sides, and lies just outside the edge of Sheet 102 of the Indian Atlas. It is about five miles from the British border,

¹ I visited the site of the Lumbinī Garden in October, 1897, and Nigliṃa (Kanakamuni) and Kapilavastu in January, 1898. Kapilavastu is on the east or left bank of the Bāṅgaṅā river, about 11 miles from the frontier, 17 miles north from Mr. Peppé's house at Birdpur, and 31 miles in a north-westerly direction from Uškā railway station. Dr. Führer erroneously states the distance from Uškā as 38 miles. The ruins of Kapilavastu extend for several miles east and west in the forest. Their breadth from north to south is comparatively small. My visit was confined to the western extremity of the city, near the Bāṅgaṅā. Dr. Führer was then engaged in excavating a series of small square *stūpas*, which seem to be those commemorating the slaughter of the Śākya. The bricks at Kapilavastu are only 12" × 7". The bricks of the Aśoka period are 18" × 9" in the Piprahwa *stūpa* excavated by Mr. Peppé, and those at Pāṭaliputra are often much larger. I visited the excavations at Pāṭaliputra in November, 1897.

There is now
no account of this
city is a few
miles distant

x Since this was written Dr Bloch has shown
 that the inscribed statue from Sahet Mahet
 professes to have been set up in Śrāvastī. But
 when I discovered the inscription had been deliberately
 covered up with a - Buddha head stone. I believe that the
 statue is not in the original position.
 KAUSAMBI AND ŚRĀVASTĪ. 527

and about six miles from Dulhā House, the residence of Mr. Ricketts, manager for Mr. Gibbons.

Measuring back from this fixed point to Kapilavastu, as determined by the Niglīva pillar near Kanakamuni's *stūpa*, and by Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary, and thence north-west "500 *li* or so" (13 *yojanas* nearly in Fa-hian), we reach a point in Nepalese territory near the foot of the hills and not many miles from the Nepālganj Road Station, on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, which station is distant about 163 miles from Gorakhpur.

Being convinced by a careful study of the maps and the data given by the Chinese pilgrims that Set (Sahet) Mahet, the reputed site of Śrāvastī,¹ could not possibly be the real site, which must be not far from Nepālganj, I determined to verify my deductions at the earliest opportunity.

By the kind offices of Colonel H. Wylie, then Resident at Kathmāndū, the necessary passes for Dr. Vost² and myself were granted by the Prime Minister of Nepāl. At the end of October, 1897, we managed to arrange the trip, which I now proceed to describe from notes recorded, with the concurrence of Dr. Vost, on the evening of the 29th October, while all details were fresh in our memory. I venture to head the narrative as that of

THE DISCOVERY OF ŚRĀVASTĪ.

"Dr. Vost and I left Nepālganj Road railway station on the morning of the 28th October, 1897, and marched with elephants and a light camp via Nepālganj to Bālāpur.

"The distance from the railway station to the town of Nepālganj is about four miles east of north along a good road. Having paid our respects to the local Nepalese Sūba, or District Officer, we proceeded along a bad road, which was in many places flooded, about six miles, in a direction a little north of east, to Kamdī.

¹ Cunningham, "Reports," i, 330; xi, 96. Set Mahet is too near Kapilavastu and is in the wrong direction.

² Dr. Vost, Civil Surgeon of Gondā in Oudh, is known to the numismatic world as a learned and accurate student of Indian Muhammadan coins. His native agents collected some preliminary information, which, though not accurate, was of much service in guiding our local inquiries.

This village, a poor place, stands on a low mound which seems to be mostly natural, although another mound to the south contains potsherds, and is at least in part artificial. The Dhunrahā Nadi flows to the west of the village.

"We pitched our camp in a grove near Bālāpur, at a distance of about half a mile east of north from Kamdī, and about the same distance west of the Sidhaniā ferry over the Rāptī.

"The edge of the forest comes down close to the village of Bālāpur. At a point in the forest distant about half a mile from the village, we found a very extensive area of low mounds running approximately from south-west to north-east. Though we could not determine the exact extent of these ruins, we satisfied ourselves as to their large dimensions by walking about them for nearly an hour. This site appears to be extremely ancient. It is covered with forest in many places all but impenetrable, and is deeply scored by watercourses. No distinct traces of any separate building could be made out. The whole area was worn down by the action of the weather, and the bricks on the surface were, for the most part, reduced to gravel. We picked up some small and much defaced fragments of terra-cotta figures, indicating the existence of decorated buildings.

"By forcing our way through dense jungle across ravines we reached at a distance about four miles from Bālāpur, in a north-easterly direction on the bank of the Rāptī, a spot known as Intāwā (i.e. brick ruins), and found there a small and low circular brick structure about 30 feet in diameter. This building, except in so far as it has been opened on the south side down to ground-level by treasure-seekers, is in good order, and is certainly a *stūpa* of early date. The bricks are large slabs, measuring nine inches in width. No specimen on the surface was sufficiently perfect to allow of its length being determined.

"Another mound of brickwork, not so well preserved, was noticed to the south of the *stūpa*, and fragments of brick and potsherds are discernible in the river bank for about half a mile southwards and to the depth of many feet. We were informed that the remains were formerly much more extensive. They have been largely eroded by the river, which runs at this spot with great force down a rather steep incline, and is still daily cutting into the bank and destroying trees. We were told of masonry wells which for a long time stood out in the river bed and have recently been carried away. The Rāptī turns to the south just above Intāwā, and at the bend must be two or three miles in width. The banks are covered with forest in all directions, both above

and below the bend. We heard of ruins at Naniā, north of the bend, and also at Paṇarī, to the north of Naniā.

"Our investigations had to be hurriedly closed by the approaching darkness of night, and it was dark before we reached our tents. The people in Nepāl are very timid about giving information to Europeans, and we were consequently unable to extend our researches. Enough, however, was learned to prove beyond doubt that Intāwā marks the site of an extremely ancient and considerable settlement on the west bank of the Rāptī.¹

"From native information we gathered that very extensive remains exist buried in the forest north-west of Bālāpur and west of Intāwā. The remains are said to extend over twelve villages in Tappa Dhaunrihār. We ascertained the names of seven of these villages, namely, Khajūrā, Maṇḍādh, Chaklā-Mahādeo, Kārī Langrī, Ijarwā, Kumdhik, and Imiliā. Kumdhik is the name given to the tract of forest south and south-west of Intāwā. So far as we saw, the only inhabitants are a few wandering herdsmen occupying temporary huts. Many mounds exist in the Kumdhik region, but a hasty glance at some of them while passing through dense forests did not enable us to determine whether any of them were artificial or not. Shīsham (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees are numerous, and look like the descendants of planted trees.

*The Rages of
Kampana
tells me that
there is a high
mound at
place which he
calls Matādev
in the jungle*

"The remains at Khajūrā are said to cover a very large area, and to be the most extensive of all. The position of Khajūrā was indicated as being about a *kos* in a northerly direction from Bālāpur. The positions of Khajūrā, Bālāpur, Kamdī, and Intāwā are marked with approximate correctness in the accompanying map. They are not marked on the original map, and having little time and no surveying instruments, we could not determine positions with absolute accuracy.

"We heard vague accounts of some sort of ancient building at Maṇḍādh, which lies somewhere west of Khajūrā, and about five miles in a north-westerly direction from Bālāpur.

"Ruins are said to exist at another Bālāpur near the base of the hills.

"The distance from Bālāpur to the foot of the hills seemed to be about sixteen miles, although the map makes it much less. It must be remembered that the portion of the map based on actual survey comprises only a narrow strip, up to about the latitude of

¹ There are indications of old river beds near Bālāpur and Kamdī which may possibly mean that at some remote period the river flowed further west than it now does. It is now moving westwards.

Nepālganj, adjoining the present border. This strip was at one time British territory, and was ceded to Nepāl.

"The tract at the foot of the hills is said to be named Udāin, and the road into the hills ascends from Obarī.

"The general result of our inquiries and observations is, that ruins extend for a distance of six or seven miles in a northerly direction from Kamdī and Bālāpur, where our camp was, and for a distance of several miles west from Inṭāwā, which now stands on the bank of the river.

"The indications point to the existence of an extensive city with outlying towns and buildings occupying the tract between Bālāpur and the hills which is now covered with dense forest.

"We are of opinion that the remains in that tract which we saw and heard of are certainly the remains of the great city of Śrāvastī, which was already in ruins when Fa-hian visited it in or about A.D. 406.¹ No surprise need be felt at the fact that the remains of a city so long desolate are now indistinct and inconspicuous."

Although it is impossible at present to identify particular buildings at the site of Śrāvastī, it is desirable that the future explorer should know exactly what he has to look for. The ruins of the buildings in and around the Jetavana must form an immense mass extending over a wide area. It will be observed that the two pilgrims differ widely in their statements as to the distance of the town of Kāśyapa Buddha, which Fa-hian calls Too-wei (Legge). If the distance of "16 *li* or so," or three miles,

¹ "After Fa-hian set out from Ch'ang-gan, it took him six years to reach Central India; stoppages then extended over (other) six years; and on his return it took him three years to reach Ts'ing-chow." (Ch. xl; Legge, p. 115.)

Fa-hian started on his journey "in the second year of the period Hwāng-che, being the Kehāe year of the cycle." Legge interprets this to mean A.D. 399 (p. 9). Giles (p. x) points out that there may be an error of a year. "The reason is that at the above period the various States were separated from and contending with each other, and the style of the reign was recklessly changed, sometimes annually, sometimes even oftener, without there being any fixed rule." Fa-hian, therefore, started in either A.D. 399 or 400, and reached the valley of the Ganges, which he calls Central or Mid-India, six years later. His journey to Śrāvastī must have occupied a considerable time. He cannot have arrived there earlier than A.D. 405 or 406.

given by Hiuen Tsiang be correct, Mandādih may prove to be Too-wei. We heard vague rumours of the existence of a conspicuous building at Mandādih. The so-called "ditches" of Devadatta, Kukāli, and Chanśca will probably prove to be deep pools in a *nāla* or ravine running north and south. The dry lake may possibly still be traceable. But the dense jungle and the decayed state of the ruins will always oppose great difficulties in the way of detailed identifications. The city seems to have extended to the Rāptī, which has carried away the eastern parts.

The frequent references in the Buddhist sacred books to Śrāvastī do not, so far as I know, give any geographical or topographical information of value.

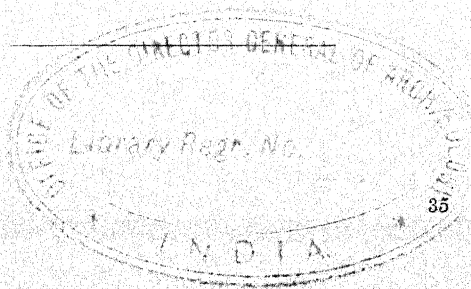
The legend of Pramati and Navamālikā, daughter of Dharmavardhana, King of Śrāvastī, proves that the writer knew that the city was on the bank of a river, but does not name the river.¹

The Dighwā-Dubauli copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla, dated in (Harsha) Samvat 155 (A.D. 761), from the Sāran District, records that the village of Pāṇīyakagrāma (l. 8) in the Śrāvastī *bhukti*, and belonging to the Vālayikā *viśaya*, which lay in the Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*, was given by Mahendrapāla.²

The local names here mentioned may possibly be at some time identified. Pāṇīyakagrāma should now be represented by Paṇiyaon or some similar form. The exact meanings of the technical terms *bhukti*, *viśaya*, and *maṇḍala* are, I believe, not known.

¹ Weber, "Ueber das Daṣakumāra-Caritam," in *Indische Streifen*, Berlin, 1868. I am indebted to Dr. Hoey for this reference.

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv (1886), p. 107.



36507

ART. XXII.—*Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books.*

By T. WATERS.

THE recent discoveries in Nepāl associated with the name of Dr. Führer, Archaeological Surveyor in the employment of the Government of India, may lead at an early date to a revival of interest in the life of the historical Buddha, distinguished generally by the names Gautama and Sakya-muni, and in the district in which he is supposed to have been born.

The first of these discoveries was an Asoka pillar, found in 1893 near the tank of Nigliwa, a village in the Nepalese Terai (or Tarāi), about 37 miles to the north-west of the Uska station of the North Bengal Railway. This pillar has an inscription which records that King Asoka, fourteen years after he had ascended the throne, personally worshipped the tope of the Buddha Koṇākamana, and added to it for the second time. From the travels of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan-chuang¹ we learn to some extent how this tope stood with respect to the site of Kapilavastu, visited by them. Then last year the official explorers discovered in the same district another Asoka pillar, also bearing an inscription. In this second inscription the king states that he set up this pillar in the Lummini village (presumed to be not far from Kapilavastu) at the very spot where Sakya-muni Buddha was born. Further investigations, we are informed, are to be made in this interesting district, and these may lead to more discoveries of still greater importance. The

¹ The common ways of writing the names of these pilgrims are Fa-hien and Hsien-Tsang; they are also written Fa Hien (or Hian) and Hsien Tsiang. In Chinese the name of the former is written 法顯 and that of the latter 玄奘 (also 奘).

ruins in the neighbourhood are said to be very extensive, and it is not unlikely that among them some more old inscriptions may be found.

While waiting for the results of future explorations, however, we may find it profitable to make a review of the information we have about the city and district of Kapilavastu, and the connection of Gautama Buddha therewith. This information, unfortunately, is for the most part of a most unsatisfactory nature, being chiefly to be found in legends and romances, about which it is impossible to determine whether they are in any degree based on facts, and in narratives partly derived from the romances or other questionable sources. These narratives are to be found in the various editions of the Vinaya, and in other canonical works. There are also incidental notices to be found in these treatises of Buddha's visits to various towns and cities, and of his travels as a religious teacher. It is not to be supposed, however, that all these notices and records are to be regarded as authentic narratives of facts. They were probably believed to be true by the hearers and the narrators, but we have no means of deciding when they are and when they are not correct information.

The statements and opinions given in the following pages are mainly derived from Buddhist books in Chinese translations. These books are of very unequal value, and they often vary to a remarkable degree in their descriptive and narrative passages. It often seems to be impossible to reconcile their conflicting statements, or to regard them as being derived from a common original. No attempt can be made here to account for these discrepancies, or to estimate the correct value of the testimony of the various authorities. Our task is simply to try and find out what these scriptures tell us about the town and district of Kapilavastu in the lifetime of Gautama Buddha, and his connection with them.

The periods about which the few Pali and Sanskrit books quoted in the following pages were composed may be regarded as tolerably well known. For the works which are to be found only in Tibetan and Chinese translations we have only

the dates of the translations with occasional scraps of information as external evidence, and in a few cases the probable period of the composition is indicated by the contents. Such popular books as Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," Foucaux's "Rgya Tcher Rol Pa," and Mr. Beal's "Romantic History" are supposed to be familiar to the reader, and little reference is made to them here. The works principally used as authorities are Chinese translations of Buddhist books not generally accessible, and belonging largely to the Vinaya and Āgama compilations on one hand, and to the group of Romances on the other.¹

ORIGIN AND SUPPOSED SITE OF KAPILAVASTU.

The legends and romances about the great religious reformer of India known as Gautama Buddha describe him as having been born in the Lumbini Garden, near the city of Kapilavastu. This city, according to the mythical accounts of the Buddha's royal ancestors, had been founded by the sons of an Ikshvāku king of the Solar race. The king, who reigned at Potalaka according to some or at Sāketa according to others, yielding to the intrigues of his queen or concubine, drove his four sons into exile. These princes, accompanied by their sisters and a large retinue, went northwards, and after a long journey halted at a pleasant suitable site near the hermitage of a rishi named Kapila. The rishi welcomed the exiles, and with solemn rite gave over to them a piece of ground on which to settle and build their city. When the city was laid out and occupied, the settlers called it in gratitude Kapilavastu or Kapilanagara, from the name of their kind patron. This happened in a period of remote antiquity.

The city of Kapilavastu thus founded was, according to the generally received accounts, situated near or at the

¹ The texts used are those of the recent Japanese revised edition of the collection of Buddhist books kept in the libraries of the monasteries in China, Japan, and Korea. References are given, however, to Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's valuable Catalogue, and the dates of the translations are taken from that work.

southern slopes of the Himavat mountains, and in the kingdom of Kosala. It was on the banks of a river, it had a lake (or pond), and it was on the borders of a copse of sāka or teak trees. In the Chinese translations the river on which the city stood is called Bhagira or Bhagirathi or Ganges, and the name Rohini for it does not seem to occur.¹

It must be noticed, however, that in some of the Chinese texts the site of Kapilavastu is placed in a district to the north of the Himavat, the royal exiles being represented as having crossed this range and settled on the south side of a mountain beyond. Thus, according to one version of the story, Siddhārtha (the Buddha), replying to King Bimbisara's questions about his home and family, says: "I was born to the north of the Snow Mountains in the Sakka country, in the city of Kapilavastu; my father's name is Suddhodana, and the family name is Gautama."² This conflict of authorities as to whether Kapilavastu was to the south or the north of the Himavat mountains is interesting in connection with circumstances to be related hereafter. But the majority of texts is in favour of the supposition that the city was situated on or near the southern slopes of these mountains.

Accepting this theory, however, when we try to learn from the Buddhist scriptures the precise situation of Kapilavastu with respect to other towns and cities, we are rather disappointed. We are told, for example, that it was in the centre of the world or of Jambudvīpa,³ a description very unsatisfactory from a geographical point of view. More precise statements place the city not in Kosala but in the Vrijjian country, and the "Chang-a-han-ching" makes it to have been situated not far from Pāva, a considerable town of that country.⁴ These statements are of

¹ Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching, ch. 4 (Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 680, tr. 587), here quoted by the short title "Hsing-chi-ching." Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue is quoted by the abbreviation "Bun."

² Mi-sha-sai-ho-hai-wu-fên-lü, ch. 15 (Bun., No. 1,122, tr. 424), here quoted by its usual short title "Wu-fên Vinaya"; Ssü-fên-lü-tsang, ch. 31 (Bun., No. 1,117, tr. 405), here quoted by the short title "Ssü-fên Vinaya."

³ I-ch'u-p'u-sa-pên-ch'i-ching, p. 2 (Bun., No. 509, tr. about 314); Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 664, tr. 187), the "Charya-nidana-sūtra."

⁴ Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 12 (Bun., No. 545, tr. 413).

importance, as we shall see at a subsequent stage. From Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala, to Kapilavastu was a journey of three days for Suddhodana's messenger, but one of seven days and nights for the wretched old king Prasenajit and his queen when fugitives.¹ From the two Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Tshang) we learn that the Kapilavastu which they visited was about ninety miles distant from Śrāvastī in a south-easterly direction.² From Rajagriha to Kapilavastu the distance was, according to the "Jātaka," sixty yojanas (no direction being stated), according to the "Hsing-chi-ching" ten yojanas, and according to some other authorities fifty yojanas, the "Hsing-chi-ching" placing the former city to the south of the latter.³ In the "Sutta Nipāta" certain Brahmins setting out from the neighbourhood of Alaka in the Deccan, made a pilgrimage to Buddha at Śrāvastī (Savattī) and back. Their route lay by Ujjeni and other places to Kosambi and Sāket, thence on to Sāvattī, Setavyam, Kapilavatthu, and Kusināra, and round to Pāva and Vesālī, the Magadhan city, and the Stone Chaitya.⁴ Dr. Oldenberg is evidently satisfied with the simple enumeration of places in this passage, but it cannot be said to add much to our knowledge and it is apparently second-hand.

It is not necessary here to refer at length to the identification of the site of Kapilavastu made by Mr. Carlleyle and accepted by General Cunningham. The discovery of the Asoka pillars in the neighbourhood of Niglīva shows us that the Kapilavastu of Asoka and the Chinese pilgrims was in that district. "Niglīva is a small Nepalese-village in the Tarāī, or lowland below the hills, in the Tahsil Taulehvā of Zilla Butwal, about thirty-eight miles north-west

¹ Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ie-yu-pu-p'i-na-ye, P'o-sêng-shi, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 1,123, tr. 710). This and the other portions of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin School are here quoted by the short title "Sarvata Vinaya," with the title of each section added. Liu-li-wang-ching (Bun., No. 671, tr. about 300).

² Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 22; Hsi-yü-chi, ch. 6.

³ Jātaka (ed. Fausböll), vol. i, p. 87; Hsing-chi-ching, chs. 23, 37; Ching-fan-wang-pan-nie-p'an-ching (Bun., No. 732, tr. 455).

⁴ Sutta Nipāta, p. 184 (P.T.S.); Oldenberg's "Buddha," S. 110 (3rd edition).

of the Uskā Bazar station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway." Paderia, the site of the Lumbini Garden, is about two miles north of the town of Bhagvañpur in the same district. Here, we are told, are the ruins of Kapilavastu covering an immense space, "to be traced over a length of seven English miles and a breadth of about three English miles."¹

We should remember, however, that Kapilavastu is not represented in all the Buddhist scriptures as a large and flourishing city endowed with many monasteries and other public buildings. In most of the romances and in the descriptions taken from or founded on these, it is generally a great and glorious city with the magnificence becoming a royal capital. But in several treatises it is also represented as a small unimportant town without any attractions. According to a legend given in the "Sarvata Vinaya" it was insufficient for the wants of the young Sakya colonists even at a very early period of their history. In that work we read that when the families of the Ikshvāku princes were growing up Kapila complained that their noise disturbed his religious exercises. He proposed to go away, but the Sakyas persuaded him to remain, and he assigned them a good site at a short distance from his hermitage. Here the city was built to which Kapila's name was given, and it was occupied by the families of the exiles. But this city was soon found to be too small, and the families had to remove to another place, where under the guidance of a deva they settled and built a new city, which they called Devadaha. This is the Kola and Vyāghrapattha (or Vyāghrapur) of various treatises, and a different origin for it is given in several other legends. Again, in certain Abhidharma treatises, such as the "Ta-chih-tu-lun," we find Kapilavastu referred to as a small town inferior to Śrāvasti, and in some enumerations of the great cities of "Central

¹ "The Birthplace of Gautama Buddha." by V. A. Smith, in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1897, p. 616; Bühler, in *Sitz. K. A. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil. hist.*, January 7, 1897.

India" its name does not appear.¹ It is true, however, that Ananda is made to describe it as a beautiful and splendid city.

As we have seen, some Chinese translations of Buddhist texts put Kapilavastu far north beyond the Snow Mountains (the Himavat or Himalayas). This fact helps to explain some extraordinary statements to be found in other Chinese books. Thus the Life of the pilgrim Chih-mêng places Kapilavastu 1,300 *li* (about 260 miles) to the south-west of a place called *K'i-sha* (奇沙), that is, perhaps, Gesh. In this latter country the pilgrim saw the Buddha's bowl and marble spittoon, and at Kapilavastu he saw a hair and a tooth of the Buddha, his ushṇisha, and his luminous image in the rock. The pilgrim Chih-mêng was in India about the year 435 A.D. Then the Life of Buddhahadra, a contemporary of Fa-hsien, describes that man, doubtless on his own testimony, as a Sakka, a man of Kapilavastu, and a descendant of Prince Amṛitodana. But this man is also described as having been born at the city of Na-k'o-li (那呵利) in North India. In these two narratives Kapilavastu seems to be identified or confounded with Nagar, a once famous place in the Jellalabad Valley, wrongly identified with the Nagarahara of a later Chinese traveller.²

For the names Kapila and Kapilavastu the Chinese seem to have obtained from their foreign teachers several explanations more or less correct. Thus we find Ts'ang-sê (蒼色) or 'Azure-colour' given as the meaning of Kapila. This term 'Azure-colour' was also applied to the appearance of Siddhartha's face at the end of his long period of fasting and self-mortification, and in each case it is expressive of the man's sallow, starved appearance. But Kapila is better translated by Huang-fa, or Yellow-Hair, or by Huang-t'ou, Yellow-Head, and the city is Huang-t'ou-chü, as if Kapilavāstu, *the residence of Kapila*. Another interpretation of the

¹ Sarvata Vinaya, P'o-sêng-shi, ch. 2; Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 3 (Bun., No. 1,169, tr. 405).

² Kao-sêng-chuan, chs. 2, 3.

name of the city is Miao-tê (妙德), *Excellent-virtue* or *Fine-qualities*. Then the Kapilavastu district or the Sakka region is mentioned by the name Chih-tsê-kuo (赤澤國), or Red-marsh-country, evidently the translation of a Sanskrit term. In connection with this last name it may be mentioned that in the year A.D. 428 an embassy from Yue-ai (月愛), Moon-loved, king of the Ka-p'i-li (迦毗黎) country, arrived in China. This country—that is, its capital—was described as situated on the side of a lake to the east of a river, and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks. Ka-p'i-li may be for Kapilavastu, or it may be for some other district in India, but it could not have been the Kapilavastu visited by Fa-hsien.¹

KAPILAVASTU AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED BY ASOKA AND THE CHINESE PILGRIMS.

As is well known, the great King Asoka is represented as having made a personal visit, under the guidance of the venerable Sthavira Upagupta, to Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden.² Several centuries after his time these places were visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien, and two centuries later by another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan-chuang (Hiouen-Thsang).

It may be useful for us to recall here the various objects of Buddhistic interest at Kapilavastu as enumerated in the "Asokāvadāna" and in the narratives of the above-mentioned Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hsien describes the city as very like a wilderness, with no inhabitants beyond the congregation of Buddhist monks and a score or two of lay people, and all the country round as in a similar state of utter desolation. The second pilgrim found all the towns of the district in the same deserted condition, but he mentions the foundations of the walls of the city as still visible. For his information

¹ Sung shu, ch. 57. The name of this country, Ka-p'i-li, occurs also in other Chinese treatises, and it was evidently not Kapilavastu.

² Divyāvadāna, p. 390 ff.; A-yü-wang-chuan (Bun., No. 1,459, tr. about 300); A-yü-wang-ching (Bun., No. 1,343, tr. 512).

about these foundations the pilgrim was undoubtedly indebted to the local monks, and all the various sites were evidently known only by the memorials which had been erected on them.

At Kapilavastu on the site of Suddhodana's palace Fa-hsien saw a representation of the Prince's (i.e. the Buddha's) mother with the Prince about to enter her womb on a white elephant. This was apparently seen by Yuan-chuang also, who mentions another likeness (or image) of the queen and one of the king. Further, Fa-hsien saw topes (or chaityas rather) on the spots where the Prince outside the east gate of the city saw the sick man and told his coachman to drive back, and, it is to be inferred, outside the other gates where the old man, the corpse, and the religious ascetic were seen. These also are mentioned by Yuan-chuang, but Upagupta only pointed out to Asoka the place where Siddhārtha, oppressed by the thoughts of old age, sickness, and death, went away to the forest. The two Chinese pilgrims saw the memorial at the place where Asita predicted the infant Prince's future, and this spot was also pointed out to Asoka. The pilgrims further mention memorials at the places where the Prince, in competition with his kinsmen, shot the arrow which produced a spring of water, where the father met his son when the latter was coming to the city for the first time as Buddha, and where the 500 young Sakyas were admitted into the new Order. Fa-hsien alone mentions a tope at the place where, while the Buddha was preaching to the devas, the Four Deva-rājahs guarded the doors so that his father could not enter. Both pilgrims tell of the tope at the place where the Buddha, sitting under a banyan (or a large) tree, accepted a robe from Prajāpatī, the banyan being seen apparently by Fa-hsien at least. This tree, according to Yuan-chuang, was close to the Monastery of the Banyan Park, which he places three or four *li* (about two-thirds of a mile) to the south of the city. The Nyagrodhārāma (Nigrodhārāma) or Banyan Park (or Ārāma) was to the Buddhists one of the most interesting sights of Kapilavastu,

and one cannot understand why it is not mentioned in the "Asokāvadāna." Here the Buddha sojourned and delivered some of his discourses, and Yuan-chuang saw in it an Asoka tope at the spot where the Buddha preached to his father. We find the place called the "Sakyas' Ārāma" and the "Sakyas' Banyan-Park Vihara," but commonly it is simply the Banyan Park (or Ārāma). It is also called in Chinese translation the "To-kên-shu-yuan," the *Park* (or Ārāma) *of the many-rooted tree*. This was evidently a place of resort and temporary residence before it had a Buddhist establishment. It may be doubted whether there ever was any building here, at least in the time of the Buddha. We are told, indeed, of Suddhodana building a monastery here, and Yuan-chuang makes the Buddha, on the occasion of his first visit, stay in the Nigrodhārāma. But the Buddha is generally described as being in the ārāma sitting under a tree or under the trees. It was in the establishment here that he, as the pilgrims narrate, accepted from his devoted foster-mother the beautiful vestment which she had made for him, handing it over to the congregation of the brethren. Both pilgrims mention the topes which commemorated events in the invasion of the city and slaughter of its inhabitants by King Virūdhika, and of the one which marked the place where the Prince sat under a tree (according to the "Asokāvadāna" a jambu) and watched the ploughers at work. Yuan-chuang alone mentions a temple or chaitya with a representation of the Prince on his white horse in the air, that is, in the act of flying over the city wall; also the temple to which the infant Prince was borne in order to be presented to the guardian deity. This temple was pointed out also by Upagupta to Asoka, then still the shrine of the "Yaksha who gave the Sakyas increase," but in Yuan-chuang's time a temple of Maheśvara. This pilgrim also tells of a chaitya with representations of Rāhula and of his mother, not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and he alone tells of the Elephant Ditch and the chaitya in which the Prince was represented as a schoolboy. The site of the schoolroom had been pointed out to Asoka by his guide.

Other places are mentioned in the Asoka romance which are not in the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims. These are the spot at which King Suddhodana prostrated himself in adoration of the infant Prince; the place at which the foster-mother Prajāpatī nursed the motherless baby; the place where the boy became accomplished in the arts of riding, driving, and the use of arms; the site of his gymnasium; and the place where, encompassed by 100,000 devas, he enjoyed himself with 60,000 pretty girls. The texts from which the Chinese translations were made do not make devas attend the Prince while he frolics with his maidens.

Now we cannot fail to observe that all the sites mentioned in the Asoka romance, and nearly all those described in the narratives of the pilgrims, derive their existence from the romances and legends about the Buddha's birth and early life. The romances generally terminate with an account of the triumphal return of the Prince as Buddha to his native city. As to subsequent events of his lifetime, the Chinese pilgrims tell us only of memorials connected with Virūḍhika's invasion. This event is not referred to in the "Asokāvadāna," but, as we shall presently see, it is narrated with variations of detail in several of the old Buddhist texts.

On the other hand, there were certain objects in or at Kapilavastu of which the Asoka romance and the pilgrims' narratives do not make any mention. These objects are all referred to in the Buddhist scriptures, and they were all connected with the great Master's career. Now we know that Asoka and the pilgrims travelled in India with the express purpose of personally visiting the scenes of the Buddha's life and work. So their silence as to the sites and other objects now to be mentioned is very noteworthy.

Among the places which the pilgrims might have been expected to see and describe, one of the most important was the site of the great Santhāgāra or Assembly Hall. This hall, about which Yuan-chuang knew, was built by

the Sakyas of Kapilavastu in the Buddha's time, and it was evidently a large and solid structure with stone pavement and furnished with pillars. When it was finished the Sakyas of the city decreed that it was not to be used by anyone whatever until it had been formally opened and used by the Buddha. The use of the hall by the young prince Virūḍhika before the inauguration was resented by the Sakyas as a desecration, and, according to some authorities, led ultimately to the dreadful results presently to be described. There is some doubt as to the situation of the hall, some texts placing it inside the city, and others putting it a short distance outside.¹

Another very interesting place near the city was the "Sow's Tank." By the side of this was the "Ārāma of the Parivradjaka tirthikas, called the place of the Sow." Another name for this ārāma was the "Udumbara Ārāma" of the Non-Buddhists (tirthikas). It was near this that Ananda found the mangled and scattered remains of the thousands of Sakyas killed with cruel torture by King Virūḍhika.²

Then there was a tope close to a banyan-tree outside that gate of the city through which the Prince passed when he went out into the wilderness to seek the way of salvation. There was also the tope erected at their city by the Sakyas of Kapilavastu over the share of the Buddha's relics which they had obtained from the Mallas of Kusinagara, and of this tope or its ruins there should have been mention.³

Further, near the Banyan Park was the Mahāvana or Great Wood to which the Buddha sometimes resorted. He is represented as passing the afternoon here absorbed in religious meditation (that is, sleeping) under a bilva-tree.

¹ P'i-na-ye or Chie-yin-yuan-ching, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,130, tr. 378); Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 43 (Bun., No. 544, tr. 420 to 479); Samyut. Nikāya, vol. iv, p. 182 (P.T.S.); I-tsu-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 674, tr. 222 to 280); Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 26 (Bun., No. 543, tr. 385).

² Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣa-lun, ch. 105 (Bun., No. 1,263, tr. 659); Vibhāṣa-lun, ch. 13 (Bun., No. 1,279, tr. 383); Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 120.

³ Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 17; Mo-ho-Mo-ye-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 382, tr. about 560); Pan-ni-huan-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 119, tr. about 350). In S.B.E., vol. xi, p. 134, Mr. Rhys Davids, by a slip, omits this tope, which is duly mentioned in the "Mahāparinibbana suttam" (Journal R.A.S., vol. viii, p. 260).

The Great Wood may be another name for the Kapilavat Wood, in which the Buddha sojourned once with his 500 arhats. We read also of the "*P'i-lo-ye-chi(ti)* (毗羅耶致) Clump," to which the Buddha walked from the Banyan Ārāma, and in which he was visited by the Daṇḍapani of Kapilavastu. This was perhaps a clump of bilva-trees in the Great Wood.¹

At Kapilavastu there was also the "Sakyas' vihara of the Bamboo Wood," also resorted to by the Buddha for afternoon meditation. Here, too, he was visited by the Daṇḍapani of the city, who asked him about the essentials of his teaching and went away dissatisfied with the answer. We read also of the Buddha staying at Kapilavastu in the vihara called *Ka-lo-ch'a-mo-Shi-ching-shê* (加羅差摩釋精舍), that is, perhaps, Kāla-Kshama Sakya Vihara, the Vihara of the Black-earth Sakyas. Near this was the "Kāla Sakya Vihara, and this also was visited by the Buddha.² These were apparently large establishments, with accommodation for many bhikshus. Neither in the "Asokāvadāna" nor in the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims have we any reference to any of these interesting objects. There were also in the immediate vicinity of Kapilavastu other sites, of less importance perhaps, but hallowed by the presence of the Buddha or one or more of his great disciples. These also were apparently not pointed out to the pilgrims, and are not mentioned in their books.

VARIOUS PLACES IN THE SAKYA COUNTRY.

The names "Kapila Country" and "Kapilavastu" are sometimes used to denote the city proper and sometimes the city together with the district in which it was situated. But this district was only part of a large region to which the Sakyas gave their name. In this region there were, we learn, eight or ten towns in addition to Kapilavastu.

¹ Maj. Nikāya, vol. i, 108 (P.T.S.); Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 35

² Chung-i-a-han-ching, chs. 28 and 49 (Bun., No. 542, tr. 398).

We find also certain villages, rivers, parks, and religious settlements in it mentioned in the scriptures as having been visited by the Buddha or as in some other way connected with his life and work.

The most interesting of these places is the Lumbini Garden, the scene of the Buddha's entrance on his last existence. This garden was in the territory of the King of Devadaha, and according to the "Hsing-chi-ching" beyond that city. But it is generally represented as on the Kapilavastu side of Devadaha, and in the "Jātaka" it is expressly stated to be between the two cities and used by the inhabitants of both.¹ According to the Chinese pilgrims the garden lay about 50 *li* (ten miles) to the east of Kapilavastu. The name is found transcribed in Chinese in several ways, pointing to differences in original authorities. Yuan-chuang, and he alone, writes La-fa-ni (臘伐尼), i.e. Lavapī, the Beautiful Woman; Fa-hsien writes Lun-min (or bin) (論尼), i.e. Lumin or Lumbin. In the "A-yü-wang-chuan" we have Lin-mou-ni (林牟尼) or Lummini, and in the "A-yü-wang-ching" and other books we have Lam-p'i-ni (嵐毗尼) or Lumbini. There are several other transcriptions, but they all stand for forms like Lummini or Lumbini.

According to some legends the Garden had its name from the beautiful queen of the King of Koli (or Devadaha), the mother of the Buddha's mother. But in the "A-yü-wang-ching" the name is explained as meaning 'the place of emancipation,' and we also find the word interpreted as denoting *niē*, 'extinction,' or *tuan*, 'cut off.'

According to the recent investigations the old name still survives in the "Rumindei" of the Nepalese Terai, the place in which a pillar has been discovered with an interesting inscription. From this inscription we learn that King Asoka came to the spot and worshipped at it as the place at which the Buddha Sakyamuni was born: that the king set up here "a stone pillar with a stone

¹ Jātaka, vol. i, p. 52.

horse on it, and reduced the land-tax on the Lummini village" because it was the birthplace of the Buddha. This is said to "set at rest all doubts as to the exact site of the traditional birthplace of Gautama Buddha."¹ But it would be more correct to say that the inscription, if genuine, tells us what was the spot indicated to Asoka as the birthplace of the Buddha.

Another important place was the city of the Sakyan Kolians, which had its own king or governor. This city had the names Kola (or Koli or Koṭi) and Devadaha and Vyāghra-pur (or -patha). The Chinese pilgrims do not seem to have known anything about this city, and they, like some other authors, regarded the Lumbini Garden as within the territory of the King of Kapilavastu. Yet the town was connected with the history of the Buddha's ancestors and his own life, and it was visited by him. Thus we read of him that "once he was staying among the Sakyas in their town called Devadaha." The distance of this town from Kapilavastu is given in one treatise as 800 *li* (about 160 miles), but in most of the books the distance seems to be small. Thus we find the ladies of the two cities coming with offerings of flowers to the Buddha in the Banyan Ārāma.²

Between the Koli territory and that of Kapilavastu ran the river called in the Chinese texts Luhita or Luhoka or Luhitaka, that is, Rohita or Rohitaka, and in the Pali texts Rohinī. At the time of the Buddha's residence at Kapilavastu an enormous hard-wood tree had fallen into the river and sent all the water into the Kapilavastu fields, leaving the Koli lands without any means of irrigation. The inhabitants of the two districts were unable to remedy this disaster, and a great feud had arisen. According to one account the Buddha, on his arrival, restored peace and harmony by good advice. But according to another version of the story he hurled the tree of offence up in

¹ V. Smith, in *Journal R.A.S.*, loc. cit.

² *Shih-erh-yu-ching* (Bun., No. 1,374, tr. 392); *Samyut. Nik.*, iii, p. 5; iv, p. 124.

the air and caused it to divide, one half falling on the Kapilavastu side of the river and one on the Koli side. Rockhill gives Kalyānagarbha as the Sanskrit name of the tree, but we learn from the "Chung-hsü-ching" that it was Sāra (or Sāla)-kalyāna. This name is translated by I-ching-shan-chien (善堅), *good-solidity*. We find mention also of a town Lohita, or Lohitaka, visited by Buddha, which was probably on this river. Some authors make the Rohita to be the boundary between the Kapilavastu territory and that of Srāvastī. In one text of the "Anāgata-vamśa" we have the Banyan Ārāma placed on a river called the *Rohanī*, but this is apparently a mistake.¹

Another river in this country was the A-lu-na, or Aruna, which formed the boundary between the Magadha country and the territory of the Sakyas.²

At no great distance from Kapilavastu was a place which in one treatise is called the town of Ni-k'an (尼鉗), that is, perhaps, Nigama or Nirgama. In another work, however, it is called the Mi-chu-lü (迷主廬)-yuan, that is, the Park (or Ārāma) of the hut of the strayed Lord. The Buddha is represented as lodging in a vihára here on one occasion near the close of his career.³ We read also of the Sakya town Mi-lu-li (彌婁離), perhaps Mirul or Mirut, a place of some importance with a park and a monastery. Ha-li, or K'a-li (訶梨), or Ka-li, was another Sakyan town of some note. It had a vihára in which the great Sthavira Kātyāyana resided, and Buddha once lodged here and was visited by King Prasenajit.⁴ Other Sakya towns of which we find mention in the Buddhist scriptures are Uḷumpa,⁵ Chātuma,⁶ Khomadussa,⁷

¹ Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 4. The full title is Fo-shuo-chung-hsü-mo-ha-ti-ching (Bun., No. 859, tr. about 1000); Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 20, 52; Sarvata Vin. P'o-seng-shih, ch. 9; Fausböll's Dh., p. 351; Thera-gāthā, v. 529 (P.T.S.): Journal P.T.S., 1886, p. 53.

² Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 556, tr. 207).

³ Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 13; Abhidharma-mahā vibhāsha-lun, ch. 105.

⁴ Chung-a-han-ching, ch. 59; Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 20; Fo-shuo-han-t'i-ching (Bun., No. 660, tr. about 290).

⁵ Fausböll's Dh., p. 222.

⁶ Maj. Nik., vol. i, p. 456.

⁷ Samyut. Nik., i, p. 184.

and one called in Chinese 'Yellow Pillow.'¹ A town which in the Chinese texts is Shih-chu, or Stone-Lord, that is, Śilāpati, is evidently that which in Pāli is called Silāvati.² We read also of the towns of Nava, in Chinese *Na-ho* (那和, in one place *Na-ssü* 那私 by mistake),³ Sakkara⁴ (known only as a correct reading given in a note), and Karshaka or Ka-li-sha-ka.⁵ This last word, which means *ploughing*, is the name of the town and district to which Suddhodana sent Siddhārtha as chief magistrate. Here Siddhārtha, sitting under a jambu-tree, watched the ploughers at their hard work, and gradually became absorbed in Samādhi. There was also the Sakya town called Ku-lo-p'i-ta-ssü (鳩羅脾大斯), which perhaps stands for a name like Kaula-bhedas, meaning *Family-dividing*.⁶ The Buddha once spent some time in this town, and during his visit had an interview with the presiding deity of the place. We find mention also of a town, apparently a busy trading centre, called Nyagrodhika, in Chinese 'the village of the tree with many roots.' This town was not far from Kapilavastu on the side next Śrāvastī, and it had a large banyan capable of giving shelter to 500 waggons with room to spare. The Buddha once went to this place from Rājagriha and lodged in it for some time. In this town was a Brahmin, whose wife, a Kapilavastu woman, gave alms to the Buddha, and received from him the prophecy that in a future birth she would become a Pratyeka-Buddha.⁷

Among the mountains of the Sakya country was one which was the home of the aged seer Asita. In the

¹ Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 27. The words are Huang-ch'ên (黃枕).

² Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 39; Samyut. Nik., i, p. 116 ff.

³ Ta-ai-tao-pi-chiu-ni-ching (Bun., No. 1,147, tr. about 400); Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.

⁴ Samyut. Nik., i, p. 184.

⁵ Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 4.

⁶ Pie-i-Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 9 (Bun., No. 546, tr. about 400).

⁷ Divyāvadana, p. 67. The story is given from the same source in the "Sarvata Vinaya Yao-shih" (藥事), ch. 8. This treatise, not being in the Ming Collection of Buddhist books, is not in Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue.

"Chung-hsü-ching" this mountain is called Kin-shih-ki-tê (緊使吉陀),¹ and it is apparently the Kishkindha of Schiefner and the Sarvadhāra of Rockhill. There was also the Chung-shêng or Bell-sound Mountain, with a village of the same name, the home of the family to which Buddha's wife Gopā belonged. This "Bell-sound" is apparently the Kinkinisvara of Rockhill and the Ganta-sabda (Ghaṇṭāsabda), with a similar meaning, of Schiefner, the man's name being that of his home.²

Not very far from Kapilavastu was a wood with a river and village adjoining. This neighbourhood became celebrated as the place at which, according to some accounts, Prince Siddhārtha made his first halt in his flight from home. The wood and the district are called in Chinese texts A-nu-ye, and A-nu-mi-ka-ya, and A-nu hamlet or A-nu wood (阿菴林). It is also called the A-nu-mo country, and is placed 480 *li* (about 95 miles) from Kapilavastu. The river is called in the Pali books Anomā or Anayā or Annana. In this neighbourhood was the district called Mi-ni-ya, the home of the brothers Mahānāma and Aniruddha. The Buddha sojourned for a second time here when he came to pay his first visit to his native place as Buddha, and here he formally admitted Upāli and the young Sakya gentlemen into his Order.³

Near to Kapilavastu was a park or wood called Lu-t'i-lo-ka (盧提羅迦), from the name of the presiding deity. This park was a favourite resort of the young Siddhārtha, and there was in it a particular stone on which he was accustomed to sit. When Yasodhara is accused of having been unfaithful to her absent husband, she carries her little son Rāhula to this wood and places him on the stone. Then, in the presence of Prajāpatī and other relatives, she causes the stone with the baby on it to be cast into the

¹ Chung-hsü-ching, ch. 3; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 18, and note.

² Sarvata Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, ch. 3; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 21.

³ Wu-fên Vin., ch. 15; Ssü-fên Vin., ch. 4; Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2; Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 58; Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 164 (2nd ed.); Bigandet's Legend of the Buddha, i, p. 64; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 26.

river. The stone floats, and so the innocence of the mother and the legitimacy of the child are openly established. This Lu-t'i-lo-ka may stand for Rudhiraka, from *rudhira*, which means *red*.¹

It has been seen that the Banyan Ārāma at Kapilavastu had apparently been used as a place of resort for religious purposes by the Sakyas before their conversion to Buddhism. Another shrine in the Sakya country also connected with the older religions is that called the *Yu-lo-t'i-na* (優羅提那) -*t'a*, that is, perhaps, the Uradina Chaitya. The Buddha lodged here once, and during his stay was visited by the presiding deva of the place. No explanation of the name is given, but it may possibly be the Sanskrit form for Udena, the name of a celebrated old chaitya supposed to have been in the Vaisāli country.²

THE CITIES OF THE BUDDHAS KRAKUSANDHA AND KONAKAMUNI.

According to the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims, the cities associated with the two past Buddhas Krakusandha (or Kakusandha, or Krakuchanda) and Konakamuni (or Kanakamuni, or Koṇāgamano, or Konākamana) were apparently in the Sakya territory, but we have not any explicit statement to that effect. It is entirely to these narratives that we are indebted for our knowledge of the situations of these two cities, but the pilgrims do not quite agree on the subject.³ Fa-hsien places Krakuchanda's city, which he calls Na-p'i-ka, twelve yojanas (about 96 miles) south-east from Śrāvastī, and so to the south-west of Kapilavastu. Yuan-chuang states that he went south from Kapilavastu 50 *li* (ten miles) to the tope at the old city, which was the birthplace of this Buddha. Then Fa-hsien places Konakamuni's city less than a yojana to

¹ Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 51.

² Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 22.

³ Fo-kuo-chi, ch. 21; Hsi-yü-chi, loc. cit.

the north of Na-p'i-ka and west of Kapilavastu, while Yuan-chuang places it 30 *li* (about six miles) north-east from Krakuchanda's city, and so to the south-east of Kapilavastu.¹

In a passage of I-ching's translation of the "Sarvata Vinaya" we find that the Buddha, when proceeding from Kapilavastu to Śrāvastī, goes to the town P'i-shu-na-lo (毗 輸 那 羅) and thence to Kū-na (俱 那), or Kona, the city of the Buddha Koṇāgamamuni.²

The "Fo-ming-ching" calls Krakuchanda's city Wu-wei or Fearless, which may be a rendering of Na-p'i-ka, that is, Nabhika.³ But the Chinese words may also stand for Abhaya with the same meaning. Other names for this Buddha's city, but always without indication of situation, are Lun-ho (or ha)-li-t'i-na (論 訶 唎 提 那),⁴ An-ho (安 和),⁵ and Ch'a-mo (刹 末),⁶ Kshamā, or Kshema. The word *kshamā*, which means 'earth,' means also 'endurance' or 'patience,' and *kshema* means 'peace' or 'security,' and the latter word may have been the original for An-ho, which has a similar meaning.

The city of Kanakamuni Buddha is also called Ch'a-mo-yue-ti or Kshamāvati.⁴ Other names for it are Shu-p'o-fu-ti (輸 婆 摩 帝)⁶ or Śubhavati, Chuang-yen (莊 嚴),³ meaning *Adorned* or *Well-furnished*, and Ch'ing-ching (清 淨),⁵ meaning *Pure*. These two Chinese terms may have been given as renderings for Śubhavati, which is used in the senses of *beautiful* and *pure*.

The ruins of two of the topes in honour of these two Past Buddhas have lately, as we know, been discovered in

¹ Nabhika seems to have been known as the name of a place. In the "Hsing-chi-ching" (ch. 51) we have mention of a senior bhikṣu who is called Senayana of Na-p'i-ka.

² Sarvata Vin. Yao-shi, ch. 7.

³ Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, ch. 8 (Bun., No. 404, tr. about 400). Cf. Mahāvamsa, p. 57.

⁴ Ch'i-Fo-lu-mu-hsing-tzu-ching (Bun., No. 626, tr. about 530).

⁵ Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 1.

⁶ Ch'i-Fo-ching (Bun., No. 860, tr. about 975). So the Sapta Buddha Stotra calls the birthplace of Krakuchanda *Kshemavati* and that of Kanakamuni *Sobhanavati*.

Nepal. The site of the city and the tope of Krakuchanda were found seven miles south-west from the supposed site of Kapilavastu. Kanakamuni's tope was found near the tank of the village of Niglīva. Near the latter tope is a stone pillar with an inscription which records that King Piyadassi (Asoka) increased the stupa of the "Buddha Koṇākamana for the second time."¹ If this pillar had been actually set up by Asoka I think he would have stated on it that he first erected and afterwards increased the tope to the Past Buddha. We do not seem to have any reason for believing that there was any tope to Kanakamuni before Asoka's time. It was probably not until the teachings of the Buddha had lost much of their spiritual and allegorical meaning that topes and cities were assigned to the Past Buddhas. These beings were the spiritual forefathers of the Buddha, and their "old cities" were their teachings of the Four Truths and the Eight-fold Way.² The topes also to their memory were not made by mortals, and were not on this earth: they were in Fairyland, in Nowhere Country, and were made by devas. Thus Kanakamuni, who was eight miles (25 *yojanas*) in height, had a tope which covered eighty miles. It was in a blissful region, full of shady trees and fragrant flowers, with cool, clear tanks; the haunt of tuneful birds, and the home of heavenly maidens, who with dance and song made endless delight. On the walls of its numerous chambers were portrayed in clear, bright colours the manifold vicissitudes of the aeonian lives of the devas in heaven, and hell, and on earth; the truthful representations of inflexible unfailing Karma. And after the manner of this tope was that to Krakuchanda, and apparently neither was ever seen by a human mortal. The devas worshipped at them, and the King of the wild geese, Good-time by name, at Krakuchanda's tope chanted the merits of that Buddha in high-piping Pāli understood by all who heard

¹ Academy, April 27, 1895.

² Fo-shuo-chiu-ch'êng-yü-ching (Bun., No. 902, tr. about 990).

him.¹ It is interesting to note that the magnificent tope to the honour of Krakuchanda at the place of his cremation was feigned to have been made by a king called Asoka.²

THE DESTRUCTION OF KAPILAVASTU.

The invasion of Kapilavastu and the destruction of the city and extermination of its inhabitants by King Virūḍhika form a curious and interesting narrative. The different versions of the story present some important differences of detail as to the circumstances which preceded and led to the invasion, but there is a tolerable agreement as to its principal incidents and its results. We find the narrative in the "Avadāna Kalpalatā," the Pali "Jātaka" and the Commentary on the "Dhammapada," in the Tibetan Dulva treatise translated by Mr. Rockhill, and in several Chinese translations of canonical books. It is from one of these, the Sarvāstivādin (or Sarvata) Vinaya, as translated by I-ching, that the following summary of the story has been condensed.³

There was a certain Sakya named Mahānāma, a rich landlord possessing lands and villages. He had an agent or steward who was a Brahmin, and by a Brahmin wife was the father of a son and daughter. In course of time the agent died owing a large sum of money on account of rents and dues to his lord, who took the daughter in satisfaction of his claim. This handsome, accomplished young girl accordingly became a slave in Mahānāma's household, and her business was to attend to the flowers and make garlands. On this account her original name was dropped and she was called Mālikā, the Garland-maker. But her name is commonly given as Mallikā (in Chinese Mo-li), which denotes a kind of jasmine.

¹ Chêng-fa-nien-ch'ü-ching, chs. 47-52 (Bun., No. 678, tr. 539); cf. also ch. 43.

² Divyāvadana, p. 418.

³ Sarvata Vin. Tsa-shih, chs. 7, 8 (Bun., No. 1,121, tr. 710).

Now it came to pass that one day Prasenajit, King of Kosala, while out on a hunting expedition, became separated from his retinue and strayed into Mahānāma's garden. Here he met Mallikā, who showed such thoughtful kindness in getting him water and enabling him to have a safe and quiet sleep that the king fell in love with her. On learning her position he demanded her from her master, who replied that Mallikā was only a slave-girl and that there were many Sakya maidens better than she. The King, however, wanted Mallikā, and so she was sent to him and he made her his queen.

The marriage seems to have been a very happy one, and in due time Mallikā bore Prasenajit a son, who, on account of bad omens which preceded his birth, was called Ill-born (惡生)—in Sanskrit, Virūdhika. At the time of this prince's birth a great statesman of Kosala had a son born to him, and this child was named K'u-mu (苦母) or Mother-distressing—in Sanskrit, Dukhamātrika—the Ambārisha of Rockhill. These two boys grew up together at Śrāvastī as playmates and friends. It happened that on one occasion they were out on a hunting expedition and wandered into the Sakyas' Park, near Kapilavastu. When the young Sakyas heard of this they became very angry, abused Virūdhika as the son of a slave-girl, and were with difficulty restrained from violence. The Prince escaped, and he made a vow to his companion that as soon as he became king he would return to the city and wreak vengeance on the inhabitants for the insult.

The years went by and Virūdhika succeeded to the throne of Kosala, and immediately proceeded to prepare for taking revenge on the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. Having collected his troops and put himself at their head, he was on his way to attack that city when a word from the Buddha softened him and turned him back. This was repeated, but at last the Buddha left his kinsmen to the working of their irremediable karma, and Virūdhika, goaded on by his ruthless companion, carried out his invasion. After some fighting and much intriguing he became master of the city.

Hereupon he proceeded to carry out his long-delayed purpose of revenge for the wanton insult of the Park. His orders were that all the Sakya inhabitants, old and young, male and female, should be put to death. These commands were being carried out in a pitiless savage manner, and many thousands had been butchered, exception being made in favour of Mahānāma and his family. Then Mahānāma interceded for his countrymen, and obtained an order for a stay of the massacre for so long as he should be in the tank performing his ablutions preparatory to a conference. He then went into the water, tied his hair to the root of a tree, and drowned himself. The King was enraged when he discovered the trick, and ordered the carnage to be renewed. He demolished the city, massacred or drove away all its inhabitants, and then went back to his capital. But the punishment of his crime quickly overtook him, and a few days after his return he went in the fire of his fate down into hell.

This version of the story agrees in the essential points with the "Avadāna Kalpalatā"¹ and the Tibetan Vinaya,² but it differs in several particulars from the other versions. The Tibetans translate the name of the invader by "noble born" or "the high-born one." In Pali his name appears under the forms Viḍḍabha and Viṭṭūbha, and a form Viḍḍha perhaps gave the Chinese Liu-li as if for Vaidūrya. According to the Pali accounts³ and the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching,"⁴ when King Prasenajit's messengers demand one of their daughters from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu to be his queen, Mahānāma cleverly passes off his own daughter by a slave-girl as his legitimate daughter. The messengers are deceived and conduct the girl to the King, who receives her with great ceremony and makes her his queen. The "Wu-fên Vinaya,"⁵ which also makes Prasenajit send to

¹ Journal Buddhist Society, vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 5.

² Rockhill, op. cit., p. 74 ff.

³ Fausbøll's Dh., p. 211 ff.; Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 293; Jātaka, vol. iv, p. 144; Fick's Soc. Gliederung im N. Indien zu Buddha's Zeit, p. 30.

⁴ Tsêng-i-a-han-ching, ch. 26.

⁵ Wu-fên Vin., ch. 21.

the Sakyas for one of their daughters, represents Mahānāma as, with cunning guile, sending a slave-girl from his own household, and this was the version known to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-chuang. These versions of the story of the marriage in which trickery is practised on the King are not only very absurd, but they are also inconsistent with the sequel of the narrative.

In the Pali stories, the "Wu-fên Vinaya," and some other treatises it was the violent conduct of the Sakyas to Virūdhika on account of his thoughtless use of their new Hall which made him vow revenge. The Sakyas had recently built a fine new Assembly Hall in or near their city, and they had agreed that it was not to be used by anyone whatever until it had been formerly opened by the Buddha.¹ In the meantime, before this opening occurred, Prince Virūdhika, a boy, comes to Kapilavastu with his retinue and instals himself in the Hall. Hearing of this the Sakyas become very angry, and had not the Prince fled they would probably have treated him with violence. As he had gone they contented themselves with abusing him as the son of a slave-girl, took up the tiles of the floor, and purified with milk and water the benches (or slabs) he had occupied. The personal force of the insulting term "son of a slave-girl" which the hot-tempered young Sakyas used to the Prince appears less when we recall that the same term was applied by the Sakyas to his father. Moreover the P'usa, while he was in Tushita Paradise, had declared that Virūdhika's grandfather was of an impure family, being of Matanga blood. The Sakyas, however, were guilty of the offence of *abusing*—ākrośamāna—Prince Virūdhika, calling him bad names.²

All versions of the story agree in representing King Virūdhika as treating Mahānāma during the invasion with great respect and kindness. He calls him by names like Grandfather or Maternal-grandfather, and the "Liu-li-wang-

¹ Liu-li-wang-ching; Wu-fên Vin., loc. cit.

² Abhidharma-mahā vibhāṣa-lun, ch. 14; see also chs. 83, 105; Vibhāṣa-lun, ch. 13.

ching" makes the King to be much moved by Mahānāma's patriotism in dying for his fellow-citizens.¹ According to that work the King, on learning the circumstances, stops the massacre, takes charge of the children, appoints a new governor, and goes away. But the Pali story makes Mahānāma despise Virūdhika, the alien, to the end, and drown himself to escape the loathed hospitality of the King. In all accounts, however, Mahānāma is the chief man among the Sakyas of the Kapilavastu district. He is styled *King* by the bhikshus and *General* by Virūdhika; he is the father of Gopā; the friend of King Prasenajit and his son, and also of the Buddha. In the "Avadāna Kalpalatā" his name is not mentioned, and he is merely called "the great Sākya chief."

The story of the destruction of Kapilavastu and the massacre of its inhabitants by Virūdhika is evidently of an old date. We find reference to the events of it in the "Vibhāsha-lun" and the "Abhidharma-ta-vibhāsha-lun," the former attributed to Sitavana or Katyāyanaputra and the latter to the arhats of Kanishka's Council. These treatises quote the same passage from an earlier and now unknown sūtra. According to this authority, Ananda went with another disciple to see Kapilavastu on the day after the departure of Virūdhika. We read that Ananda was greatly affected by the ruin and desolation he found. The city was like a cemetery: the walls of the houses had been demolished and doors and windows destroyed; the gardens, and orchards, and lotus-ponds were all ruined; the birds made homeless were flying about in confusion; the only human beings to be seen were the orphaned children, who followed Ananda with piteous cries for help and compassion.² Deeply grieved, Ananda contemplated the fragments of the 70,000 (or 100,000) Sakya men who had been trodden to death by elephants and their bodies torn to pieces by harrows in the park near the Sow's Tank. In other treatises

¹ Ssū-fên Vin., ch. 41; Lin-li-wang-ching.

² Vibhāsha-lun, ch. 11, and references under note 2, p. 557.

also we read that Virūdhika practically annihilated Kapilavastu and exterminated the Sakyas of that city. Beginning with children at the breast, we are told, he slew all the Sakyas and washed the stone slabs of the Hall with their blood as he had vowed to do. The total number of the massacred is given as 99,900,000 in one treatise, and from this the absurd total has been quoted by others. Yet the monks seem to have remained uninjured, and some of the people were left unhurt, while a portion fled into Nepal.¹

It is hard to accept the story of the sacking of Kapilavastu and the extermination of its inhabitants by Virūdhika, who, as king of Kosala, was king also of Kapilavastu. Was the story made up in order to get rid of the impossible city invented by the makers of the romances about the Buddha's birth and early life? There are many and strong arguments against such a supposition. As has been seen, we find the story assumed to be true and known in several treatises, and some of the incidents are related as the occasions on which certain Vinaya rules were made. Thus, the giving of garments to needy brethren, the prohibition against the wearing of jewellery by bhikshunis, and the permission to ordain boys of seven years of age are all referred to the state of affairs at Kapilavastu immediately after its destruction by Virūdhika.² When Ananda went to visit the bhikshus, who had fled from the massacre into a cold district of Nepal, he found them protecting themselves against the frost by the use of the *fu-lo* (富羅) which the natives wore. He considered himself bound by rules not to wear this, and so he returned to Śrāvastī with skin rough and chappy. Hearing of the circumstances, the Buddha made a new rule allowing the use of *fu-lo* in cold countries. The meaning of *fu-lo* is not given, but it is probably the Sanskrit *vāla*, which means the *hair* or coarse

¹ Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, chs. 14, 36 (Bun., No. 114, tr. about 430); I-tsu-ching, ch. 2; Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 30 (Bun., No. 1,119, tr. 416); Sarvāstivāda Vinaya-vibhāṣa, ch. 7 (Bun., Nos. 1,135, 1,136, tr. 400).

² Shi-sung Vinaya, ch. 21 (Bun., No. 1,113, tr. 404); Wu-fên Vin., ch. 21.

wool of animals used for clothing.¹ Then in the very interesting Dhammapada treatise called "Ch'u-yao-ching," translated in 399, we find Virūdhika's punishment of the Sakyas introduced in order to enforce and illustrate the doctrine of Karma. The verse to which the reference forms a comment declares that "not in the air nor in the ocean nor entering the mountain-cave—it is impossible in these places to escape the punishment of bad Karma."² Again, in the "Sarvata-vini-vibhāsha," translated into Chinese about A.D. 400, we find a reference to the mutilation and massacre of the Sakyas by Virūdhika. The writer introduces the reference in illustration of Buddha's power in mercy and kindness as he healed and comforted the wretched victims.³

When the Buddha went to see the ruin and desolation caused by Virūdhika's army he professed to be and apparently was unmoved, being freed from earthly grief, but he confessed that the sight gave him a headache. This headache he connected with unbecoming conduct in one of his former existences. In this particular existence, while he was a small boy, he came one day to a place where a body of fishermen had taken the fish from a pond and cruelly left them to die on the banks. The little boy rapped one of the fish wantonly on the head with a stick. As this fish lay dying beside a brother fish the two vowed to come back into the world at the same time and have revenge. The cruel fishermen became the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the two fish were reborn as Virūdhika and his friend, and although these could not kill Buddha, the little boy, they

¹ Sarvata Vin. P'i-ko-shih, ch. 2 (translated by I-ching about 715, not in Bunyio). I-ching mentions an old rule that "*fu-lo* does not enter the Hall of Fragrance," that is, Buddha's temple (Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, etc., ch. 2).

² Ch'u-yao-ching, ch. 11 (Bun., No. 1,321, tr. 399), and cf. Fausbøll's Dh., v, 127. There are further references to Virūdhika's invasion in ch. 25 and other parts of the "Ch'u-yao-ching," which is an interesting Dhammapada treatise.

³ Sarvastivāda Vin. Vibhāsha, loc. cit. In the Sarvata Vin. Tsa-shih, ch. 7, there is a pretty story of Mallikā, the slave-girl, giving her own breakfast to Buddha. The compiler of the Pali "Questions of Milinda" spoils this story by making Mallikā give, as alms to Buddha, some "last night's sour gruel." See Rhys Davids' "Questions of Milinda," iv, 8, 25.

were able to cause him a bad headache.¹ Nor was the Buddha altogether master of his feelings as he seemed, for when he went to the Banyan Ārāma with the broken-hearted Ananda he sighed over the lonely desolation of the place. Then he went away declaring he would never return, and from that time Kapilavastu almost passed out of existence.

It is to be noted that the Pali and Mahāsaṅghika Vinayas do not seem to have any mention of or reference to Virūḍhika's invasion and destruction of Kapilavastu. The latter treatise even tells of a congregation of Bhikshus at the city several years after Buddha's decease, and of a feud there between Ananda and Rāhula on account of an affair connected with a layman's children.² This estrangement had caused the regular services of the Church to cease for seven years, and a reconciliation was at last effected by the intervention of the aged Upāli. But, on the other hand, to the Tibetan, the Ssū-fên, the Wu-fên, the Shih-sung, and Sarvata Vinayas the whole story of the invasion seems to be an accepted fact. Mr. Rhys Davids, following Bigandet, ascribes the destruction of Kapilavastu to Ajatasatru, the parricide king of Magadha. There is, however, evidently a mistake here, as there does not seem to be any authority for the statement.³

CONCLUSION.

As we read the various Buddhist books composed at different times and at places wide apart, we seem to find in them three Kapilavastus or birthplaces of the Sakya Buddha.

We have first the Kapilavastu of the legends and romances, and the narratives based on these. This city, as has been seen, was supposed to be in the Happy Land of the Himavat, or region of the Snow Mountains, either on their south side

¹ Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching, ch. i (Bun., No. 733, tr. about 195); Journal Bud. Soc., op. cit., p. 11.

² Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 30.

³ Bigandet, op. cit., p. 267; R. Davids' Buddhism, p. 77.

or away north to the east of the Gandhamārdana Mountain.¹ The site of this city was a pleasant one, full of natural charms, and impregnated with secret influences conducive to happiness and prosperity. The city was adorned with parks and gardens and ponds and palaces, and it was a heaven on earth.² At some distance from it was the Lumbini Garden, not a mere "Sāl Park" or ordinary garden, with beautiful trees and lovely sweet-scented flowers, and tanks of clear cool water. It was a place even more than divine, for here gods did the behests of a higher but unknown power. Everything in it, animate and inanimate, knew when the fulness of the time for the Buddha's appearance had come. At the moment when the great event occurred, the flowers in the garden bloomed out of season, the trees were covered with ornaments not their own, the very soil owned the presence of the great power, and unseen gods filled the air and tended the babe born to be a saviour.

It is probable that all Buddhists believed in the actual existence of this Kapilavastu with its Lumbini Garden. It is useless, however, to conjecture where the writers of the romances wished their readers to suppose the city to be situated. From the first it was little known to the Church, and even to the early writers Kapilavastu seems to be a vague, uncertain place. In the "Dīgha Nikāya" and the "Sumangala Vilasini" we have a record of a conversation which occurred in Kosala between the Buddha and a Brahman named Ambaṭṭha. In this the Buddha speaks of the city which was supposed to be his native place as if it were far away and a matter of old story.³ The Lumbini Garden is not properly the place of Buddha's birth, but of his first appearance in the last stage of his existence. As the scene of his entrance on his last life, it is apparently of later invention than Kapilavastu. At least, it is not known to all

¹ Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.

² Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 159, tr. 683); Abhidharma-mahā vibhāṣa-lun, ch. 83.

³ Dīgha Nik., i, p. 92; Sumang. Vil., p. 258 (T.T.S.). The same story is to be found in the Sarvata Vin. Yao-shi, ch. 8.

the authors, and in the "I-Ch'u-P'u-sa-pên-ch'i-ching," for example, there is no mention of it in the narrative of the Buddha's birth. It is remarkable also that when Asoka was taken by Upagupta to the Lumbini Garden, there was apparently no monument or memorial to mark the place. Asoka set up a tope at the place pointed out to him, and this was the first structure erected to indicate the Lumbini Garden.

We have next the Kapilavastu and Lumbini Garden, visited first by Asoka and afterwards by the Chinese pilgrims, and now rediscovered. This Kapilavastu, which seems to suit some of the narratives in the Buddhist scriptures, may also be the place with that name from which the Indian monk Dharmaphala in the second century A.D. brought to China two Sanskrit MSS. These were translated into Chinese with the titles "Chung-pên-ch'i-ching" and "Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching."¹ They are short treatises giving an account of part of the Buddha's life, and they have been used by the present writer. But we have no records of any other pilgrims visiting this place, or of any great Buddhists residing at it, or of any human life, except that mentioned by the two pilgrims, at it between the Buddha's time and the present. No doubt pilgrims went to the place and worshipped and wrote their names on topes or columns, but they did not tell of their pilgrimages to the sacred sites, nor did others write their stories for them. So far as we know, this Kapilavastu has never been seen by anyone as a city or even as a heap of ruins. A few lay inhabitants and a small congregation of Buddhist monks were the only residents in the district when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrims. The foundations of what was supposed to have been the old city wall were pointed out to Yuan-chuang, and he saw also a well and a temple. If this last had survived, as the pilgrim in his simple faith believed, from the Buddha's birth-time its god had been changed, the Yaksha who gave increase to the Sakyas having been replaced by Siva. But, with a very few exceptions like these, topes

¹ Kao-sêng-chuan, ch. 1.

and chaityas built long after the Buddha's death and monkish traditions have since the first visit been the only evidence for the identification of sites and objects with certain descriptions in the Buddhist books. The Asoka pillars and the remains of old topes found by the Nepalese in the Paderia district of the Terai are doubtless those seen by the two Chinese pilgrims, but we are not obliged to believe that they are at the places where the historical Buddha was born and spent his youth. Bühler, however, and Oldenberg, with other learned students of Buddhism, seem to be thoroughly convinced that these monuments indicate the sites of the objects mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures as connected with the birth and early years of the Buddha.¹ This conviction may be regarded as based on the supposition that Asoka and the Chinese pilgrims saw a large quantity of ruins at the place which they were told represented Buddha's Kapilavastu. But this supposition is not warranted by the Asoka legend or the narratives of the pilgrims. In these we have sites and chaityas with images or pictorial representations, but very few ruins or ancient buildings.

The third Kapilavastu is the actual place at which the Buddha was born and educated as a boy. We must remember, however, that the honour of having been the Buddha's birthplace has been claimed also for other cities, such as Śrāvastī and Kusinagara, and that the former of these was evidently a sort of home for him and some of his kindred.² Practically, however, there is a general agreement that his native place was called Kapilavastu or Kapilanagara. As we have seen, the books vary as to its situation with reference to other localities, and it does not seem to be possible at present to form a satisfactory and definite opinion as to its precise situation. There are, however, various reasons for regarding it as having been probably in the territory of the Vrijjians and not far from Rajagriha of Magadha. It was probably

¹ Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 110 ff.; Waddell, in *Journal As. Bengal*, vol. lxx, pt. 1, No. 3, p. 275.

² Chang-a-han-ching, ch. 3; Fan-i-ming-i, ch. 3.

a small unimportant town, and its original name may have been something like Saka or Sāka. We have already seen that Kapilavastu is placed by some writers in the Vrijjian territory and not far from Pāvā, an important town of that people.¹ We read also of the Buddha going with his 1,250 disciples from Kapilavastu through the Vrijjian region to Vaisāli.² The relations between the people of this district and the Buddha and his kinsmen seem to have been very intimate. According to some accounts the elephant which Devadatta in his sulky displeasure killed at a gate of the city of Kapilavastu, had been sent by the Vaisālilians as a present to Prince Siddhārtha. Moreover, some of the Buddha's relatives seem to have lived in or near Vaisāli all their lives, or at least from the time they entered the Order. Ananda also is represented as having had an intimate friend among the Mallas of Pāvā while he was a young layman. After the Buddha's decease, moreover, Ananda went to live at Vaisāli, and it was from that city that he and the arhats, according to one account, went to Rajagriha to attend the first Council.³ Then we read of Mallas⁴ and Licchavis among the population of the Sakya district, and also of Licchavi Sakyas. We may note, in passing, that when Yuan-chuang was at Vaisāli he was informed that the hereditary King of Nepal was a Licchavi Buddhist.

As to Rajagriha, it is very evident from some of the Buddhist books that their authors regarded it as not very distant from Kapilavastu. When the Prince Siddhārtha went out into the world, his first halt, according to several accounts, was, as has been observed, at Anuya (or Anomya), which was near to Rajagriha, and, according to some, on leaving his home he went gradually south from the borders of Magadha to Rajagriha.⁵ The Sakya town called Koli

¹ See also Ta-an-p'an-shuo-i-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 681, tr. about 150).

² Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 2.

³ Ssü-fên Vin., chs. 41, 54.

⁴ P'u-yao-ching, ch. 3.

⁵ Wu-fên Vin., ch. 15; Ssü-fên Vin., ch. 31.

and Devadaha and by other names was, we have seen, not very far from Kapilavastu. This important town, it will be observed, is not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, but their silence may perhaps be explained. I think it is the place which they call Rāma, and which they place at about forty miles to the east of the Lumbini Garden. At this place there was a celebrated tope over relics of the Buddha, and near it were certain memorials connected with his flight from home. Now in a certain Nirvāṇa treatise we read of the Buddha going from Rajagriha to Pāṭaliputra, and from that city east to the Koli (Kou-li, 拘利) city, and thence on to Vaisāli. In this passage we find as a synonym for Koli the name Hsi-yü (喜豫), that is, *joy, delight*, in Sanskrit, Rāma. In the "Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta" we find the form Koṭigāma instead of Koli. This Sutta also tells us how "Rāmagāma Koliyā," the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, obtained a share of the Buddha's relics. They claimed this on the ground that they were Kshatriyas and that the Buddha had been of the same caste.¹ It was also to this Rāmagāma or Lo-ma-ts'un that the prince went direct from Kapilavastu, according to the "Hsing-chi-ching," when he had passed through the Pi-ye-lo gate of the city.² Then, according to Yuan-chuang's travels, Rāmagrāma lay between the Lumbini Garden and Kusinagara; and in the "Sarvata Vinaya," Buddha, going in the opposite direction, journeys from Kusinagara to Devadaha (Koli) and thence to the Lumbini Garden.³ Further, Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan authority represents the prince, while still a resident at home, as going "into the cemetery of Rajagriha."⁴ This may be a slip of the pen, but the place at which Siddhārtha watched the ploughers as he sat under a tree was apparently not far from this city. We read also of Suddhodana being one of the Buddha's

¹ P'an-ni-huan-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 119, tr. between 317 and 420); Journal R.A.S., Vol. VII, p. 65, and Vol. VIII, p. 259.

² Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 17.

³ Sarvata Vinaya, Yao-shih, ch. 7.

⁴ Rockhill, op. cit., p. 23.

audience at Rajagriha, and it was near this city apparently that Suddhodana was cremated.¹ The city was one of the favourite resorts of the Buddha, and his preference for it was noted and explained by early Indian Buddhist writers.² Some of his disciples also sojourned much here, and Upananda apparently settled permanently on the Griddhakūta Mountain.³ Several texts put Kapilavastu a little or a considerable distance to the north of Rajagriha, but even when it is said to be on the side of the Snow Mountains, it is on the banks of the Ganges and not far from Magadha.⁴

To the Buddhist writers generally the Himavat or Snow Mountains, the fabled home of great rishis and of rare medicinal herbs, were of uncertain and varying location. Thus, in some texts we find them placed twelve yojanas from Kapilavastu in a north direction apparently,⁵ in other texts they are to the east, and in a few they are to the south of that city. They were also regarded by some as near to Rajagriha, for the First Council, which was held at that city, is also described as having been held at the Snow Mountains.⁶ So when we read in certain books of the Ganges being near Kapilavastu and the Snow Mountains, we are not obliged to regard it as far away among the Himalayas. It is, however, quite correct according to some Buddhist geography to place the Ganges in a very remote region to the north. It rises, we are told, in the Anavatapta Lake, and flows from that in an eastern direction. From the same lake the Indus flows south, the Oxus to the west, and the Sita to the north. When we read, however, of Kapilavastu being near the Bhagirathi or Ganges, we are to understand by these names the actual well-known river so called in India proper. According to the "Hsing-chi-ching," the old seer Asita went to Kapilavastu from

¹ P'u-sa-shêng-man-lun, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,312, tr. between 960 and 1127). This "Jātaka-māla" is a late work and of doubtful value.

² Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 3.

³ Ssü-fên Vin., ch. 14.

⁴ Sarvata Vin. Yao-shih, ch. 8; Divyādāna, p. 548.

⁵ Ch'ang-hsü-ching, ch. 5.

⁶ P'i-ni-mu-ching, ch. 4 (Bun., No. 1,138, tr. about 400).

"Ganges-town" of Magadha in the "Chê-p'an-ti" district of South India. In the "Mahāvastu" also this rishi is represented as living not on the Snow Mountains but on the Vindhya range.¹ Then in this connection we are reminded of the story of Prince Suddhodana obtaining permission to have a second wife. He had been successful in repelling the invasion of Sakyan territory by bands of plunderers from the border mountains. These invaders were called Pāṇḍavas, and one of the large mountains in the vicinity of Rajagriha was called Pāṇḍava.² Moreover, we find it stated that the Buddha's birthplace was in the "Middle Country," the Madhya-desa, and we are also informed that Magadha is the country in which the Buddhas are born.³

That there was a name like Saka or Sākya for Buddha's birthplace, appears probable from the use of these words in several Buddhist texts. According to the romances and legends, the banished princes who formed the Kapilavastu colony acquired the name Sakyas, or the *clever ones*, from their father's exclamation of surprised delight. This name, however, seems to have become the designation of a large tribe or people occupying a considerable extent of territory. But the place at which the first settlers took up their abode and built their town was at a Śāka-saṇḍo or Teak Wood, and from this the town and inhabitants seem to have acquired the names Sāka and Sākya. This supposition helps to explain the distinction which is plainly drawn in several books between Sakya and Sākya. The former is the general term, embracing the latter and much more. Thus we read of Buddha staying among the Sakyas at Kapilavastu in the Banyan Ārāma, but we also find that he "travels about among the Sakyas to the Kapilavastu country," that he lodges in the "Sakya town Silāpati" and "in Devadaha in the Sakya country." Both in the Pali and the Chinese versions of some treatises we find the "Sākiyāni" or Sakyas

¹ Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 7; Mahāvastu (ed. Senart), ii, p. 30.

² Rockhill, op. cit., p. 15; Hsing-chi-ching, ch. 22.

³ Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. 25.

of Kapilavastu distinguished from the "Kolyāni" or Sakyas of Koli.¹ The Sākiyā and Koliyā also are often mentioned together, and the word Sākya is frequently employed in ways which show that its application is restricted to Kapilavastu. Thus it was the wanton insolence of the Sakyas of this city which led to Virūḍhika's invasion, and the operations of the invader were, according to all accounts, confined to the Sakyas of the city and suburbs. So in the story the "Sākiyānam dosa" or "pubbakamma" is the *guilt* or *previous karma* of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu and not of the Sakyas generally.² And when it is recorded that "Sākiyavaṃso Viḍḍabhenā uccinna," this means that the Kapilavastu Sakyas were exterminated by the king. The first word, we know, cannot mean, as Childers translates, the "Sākya royal line," nor the Sākya race.³

In one sūtra we find this expression—"the Āmalika Medicine-tree orchard of the Sakyas' Shê-i" or Sākya.⁴ This passage, however, is evidently corrupt, and there is nothing in the text to prove that Shê-i here means Kapilavastu. But Buddha uses the term Sākya to designate his native place, and we find it expressly stated that the name (Shi-ka) is a synonym for Kapilavastu.⁵ Then we read of the Shê-i-lu or Shê-i-road, which the context shows is the road to Kapilavastu,⁶ and Suddhodana is called "King of Shê-i."⁷

The word Sākya came to mean also a relative of Buddha, a member of the Kapilavastu family to which the Buddha was supposed to belong, and so we sometimes find it

¹ Thera-gāthā, p. 56 (P.T.S.); Samyut. Nik., iii, pp. 5, 91; Mahāsaṅghika Vin., ch. 39, where we read of Sakya, Koli, Malla, and Licchavi bhikkhus all under Mahā Prajāpati.

² Jātaka, iv, p. 152; Fausbøll's Dh., p. 223.

³ Fausbøll's Dh., p. 224; Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v.

⁴ Shê-li-fu Mo-ha-Mu-lien-yu-ssü-chü-ching (Bun., No. 625, tr. about 195). In the later translation in ch. 41 of the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching" the word Shê-i does not occur.

⁵ Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun, ch. 2 (Bun., No. 1,290, trs. about 150, or according to others about 380); Ssü-fên Vin., chs. 3, 31.

⁶ Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, ch. 1.

⁷ Ching-fan-wang-pan-nie-p'an-ching, ch. 1 (Bun., No. 732, tr. 455).

interchanged with Gautama.¹ It also came to be used in the sense of "a Buddhist," and even in early times we find a woman declaring her separation from the Buddhist Church in the words "fei-Shi-chung-tsü," that is, "I am no more of the Sākya stock."²

The derivations and explanations given in the books for Sākya and Sākyā do not seem to be very satisfactory. It is interesting to observe, however, that the inhabitants of Kapilavastu are connected with the Śāka or Teak tree, and those of Devadaha with the Koli or Jujube tree. But Saka was possibly the name of the real or fictitious founder of the family of the Sakyas. To some writers these are the clan otherwise called by the name Gautama, and to some they were evidently the Kshatriyas. In relating the origin and history of the Kshatriya caste, Buddha and his followers merely relate the mythical origin and descent of the Buddha's family. It may be worthy of investigation, however, whether Saka is not originally a foreign word meaning the *marshy* land or *wet* country, and Sākyā the inhabitant of the country. This word may have been one of that large number of terms common to several old languages of Central Asia and still preserved to us in Chinese. One of the renderings given for the name of Buddha's native place is, as has been seen, *Red Marsh*. Now the word for *marsh* in Chinese is Tsê (澤), very like Shī or Sak (釋), and formerly pronounced Têh and Sak. The word for *wet* or *moist* in Chinese is also Shī (濕), and it also formerly had a pronunciation like *sek* or *sak*. The word Sak may have passed into the language of India and become confused with native words of similar sound. We have three Chinese versions made independently of a long and interesting sūtra, the name of which was apparently the Mahārudham sūtra. In this work we have an account of the origin and descent of

¹ Vinaya (ed. Oldenberg) Mah., i, 38, 11; Tsa-a-han-ching, ch. 41; Samyut. Nik., iv, p. 183.

² Mahāsaṅghika Vin., chs. 19, 37.

Buddha's family as Kshatriyas, and it is worthy of notice that there is no mention either of the banished princes or of Sakyas.¹

¹ Ta-lu-t'an-ching, ch. 6 (Bun., No. 551, tr. about 300). Mr. Bunyio gives the title as "Fo-shuo-lu-t'an-ching," and suggests as its meaning "Sūtra on the Lokadhātu spoken by Buddha." But "Ta-lu-t'an" is evidently for "Mahārūcham," meaning the *great production*, that is the *origin of the world*. In Nos. 549 and 550 the Sanskrit title is translated by "Ch'i-shih-yin-pên" and "Ch'i-shih" respectively.

TAGARA ; TĒR.

BY

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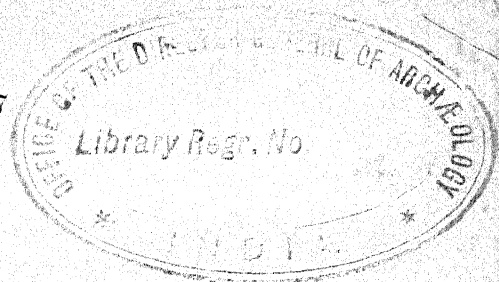
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No.



ART. XXI.—*Tagara ; Tēr.*

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

For more than a century, Indian archæologists have been greatly puzzled about the identity of an ancient city named Tagara. The city is referred to in some of the Indian epigraphic records. Thus, a record of A.D. 997 describes the Śilāhāra prince Aparājita, of the Northern Koṅkaṇ, as *Tagara-pura-paramēśvara*, or "supreme lord of the town of Tagara,"¹ giving to him a hereditary title commemorative of the place which his family claimed as its original home. Another Śilāhāra record, of A.D. 1058, similarly applies to Mārasimha, of the Karhād branch of the family, the title of *Tagara-puravar-ādhiśvara*, or "supreme lord of Tagara, a best of towns, an excellent town, a chief town;" and it further describes his grandfather Jatiga II. more specifically, but less accurately, as *Tagara-nagara-bhūpālaka*, or "king of the city of Tagara."² And a Western Chalukya record of A.D. 612 specifies Tagara as the residence of the person to whom the grant of a village, registered in that charter, was made.³ The city is further mentioned, as Tagara, by the Greek geographer Ptolemy, who, writing about the middle of the second century A.D., assigned to it a certain latitude and longitude⁴ which have the effect of placing it about eighty-seven miles towards the north-east from another place, mentioned by him as Baithana, which his details would locate about 270 miles on the east-north-east of Barygaza. And it is also

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 269, and p. 273, text line 43-44.

² *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India), p. 102, text line 5-6, and p. 103, line 26-27.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 73, text line 14.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written during the period A.D. 80 to 89: this work, after introducing us to Dakhinabadēs, *i.e.* Dakṣiṇāpatha, "the Dekkan," which it defines as the country lying to the south of Barugaza, inland right across to the Ganges, as well as along the coast, says that "in this same Dekkan there are two pre-
 " eminent trading-centres,— Paithana, indeed, distant from
 " Barugaza twenty days by road towards the south, and
 " another very great city, Tagara, about ten days towards the
 " east from that; from them, there are brought down to
 " Barugaza,—by wagon-roads, and through vast places that
 " have no proper roads at all,—from Paithana, a great
 " quantity of onyx-stone, and, from Tagara, a plentiful
 " supply of fine linen cloth, and all kinds of muslins, and
 " mallow-coloured stuffs, and several other kinds of
 " merchandise, pertaining to various places, which are taken
 " thither from districts bordering on the sea."¹

It was easily recognised, partly because the *Periplus* locates Barugaza on a river which it calls Namnadios, that the name Barygaza, Barugaza, denotes the modern Bharuch, *vulgo* Broach,—the ancient name of which is met with as Bhṛigukaccha, for instance in a record of A.D. 866 or 867,² and, more frequently, as Bharukaccha, for instance in a record of A.D. 736,³—the chief town of the Broach district in the Gujarāt division of the Bombay Presidency, on the north bank of the Narmadā, *vulgo* Nerbudda, in lat. 21° 42', long. 73° 2'. And it was found, with almost equal ease, that Baithana, Paithana, is Paithaṇ,—the ancient Pratiṣṭhāna,—in the Aurangābād district of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat. 19° 28', long. 75° 27', on the north bank of the Gōdāvarī. And, since Paithaṇ, so far from being towards the east-north-east from Broach, or even anywhere nearly due south from Broach, is about 220 miles almost due

¹ The text of this passage is given in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 54, note. For translations, see *ibid.*, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii, pp. 143 f., and vol. xiii, p. 366.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 185, pl. iib, text line 18.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 114, text line 11.

south-east from Broach,¹ it was also recognised that, in seeking for Tagara, we were not exactly bound by the bearings given by either of the Greek authorities. But, for some incomprehensible reason, the idea was formed, and has existed ever since, that Tagara was not to be found under that same name or any close approximation to it, but was to be identified with some place now bearing a different appellation.

The first proposal for the identification of Tagara appears to have been made in 1787 by Wilford,² who expressed the opinion that it is Daulatābād, the ancient Dēvagiri, in the Aurangābād district of the Nizam's Dominions, about thirty-five miles towards the north-by-west from Paithān. Since that time, various other speculations have been indulged in. It has been proposed to identify Tagara with 'Rozah,' about four miles on the north of Daulatābād,—with 'Bheer,' 'Bhir,' 'Beer,' 'Bir,' or 'Bid,' the chief town of the district of the same name in the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-five miles towards the south-east-by-south from Paithān,—with 'Darur,' 'Dārur,' 'Dharur,' or 'Dhārur,' in the district just mentioned, about seventy miles almost due south-east from Paithān,—with Kalbarga, the chief town of the district of the same name in the same territory, about 175 miles towards the south-south-east-three-quarters-east from Paithān,—with 'Dhārur' in the Atrāf-i-Balda district in the same territory, on the railway from Haidarābād to Wādī Junction, about 220 miles almost due south-east from Paithān,³—and with

¹ I take the distances and bearings, here and throughout, as closely as I can take them, from Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India by Bartholomew (1891).

² See *As. Res.*, vol. i (1788), pp. 368 ff.

³ It would appear, however, that this 'Dhārur' is nothing but a railway station, and that the name of it is of quite recent invention. The station is about two miles south-west from a small town which is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 57 (1854) as 'Doraveed,' and is mentioned as "Doraveed, a town," etc., in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, vol. ii (1854), and as "Doravid, a town," etc., in the abridgment of that work published in 1886. Neither does the Indian Atlas sheet, nor does the Hyderabad Survey sheet put together in 1886 from the older sheets Nos. 102, 103, 126, and 127, give any indication of the existence here of a village named 'Dhārur,' or of any place-name at all like 'Dhārur.' This 'Dhārur' is not mentioned in Thornton's Gazetteer, either in the original edition or in the abridgment. I trace the appearance of it first in the reissue of the Atlas sheet No. 57, "with additions

Junnar, the head-quarters of the Junnar subdivision of the Poona district, Bombay Presidency, about one hundred miles towards the west-by-south from Paṭhan. And I myself have published the opinion that it is Kōlhāpur, otherwise known as Karavīra, the chief town of the Kōlhāpur State in the Bombay Presidency, about 210 miles towards the south-south-west from Paṭhan.

To all of these proposals there was one leading objection, among others; namely, that none of the names answered to the name Tagara, either as corruptions of the ancient name, or as translations of it or similar substitutes for it, except, perhaps, in the case of Karavīra-Kōlhāpur. There is no sound reason for the suggestion¹ that the name Tagarapura may have passed, through such intermediate forms as Taaraura and Tārur, into 'Dārur' or 'Dhārur.' And still less is there any solid reason for the suggestion² that the name Tagara, itself a Sanskrit word, should be Sanskritised as Trigiri, "three-hill," and should thus be applied to Junnar as standing on a high site between three hills. In the case, however, of Karavīra-Kōlhāpur, there were the facts that the word *karavīra* means, among other things, the *Nerium Odorum*, the fragrant oleander, and that the word *tagara* denotes, in Sanskrit, the shrub *Tabernaemontana Coronaria*, which belongs to the same family with the oleander,³ and

to 1875," which shews the railway, gives 'Doraveed' as before, and presents the name of the station as 'Dharoor.' From that time, 'Dharur' appears in nearly all the maps that I have looked at, and 'Doraveed' is absent from them. But it is first (as far as I can find) put forward as a town, as well as a railway station, in Philip's Gazetteer of India by Ravenstein (1900), which, also, omits 'Doraveed,' but which does not assign any population to 'Dharur.' I have not succeeded in obtaining any explanation of the matter, or any hint in the direction of 'Doraveed' being a mistake for 'Dharur' (which, in fact, does not seem to be the case), or of there being any change of name in recent times. And I can only conclude that the railway authorities, in making a station which was evidently intended to serve the town of 'Doraveed,' for some reason or other invented a new name for it, which they perhaps evolved out of 'Doraveed,' instead of styling it "Doraveed Road," in accordance with their practice in other parts of the country.

¹ See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xiii, Thana, part ii, p. 423, note 4.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

³ From the Rev. F. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary it appears that, in addition to the word *tagar*, *taguru*, *ṭagara*, *ṭagaru*, 'a ram,' we have, in Kanarese, *tagara* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *tamara*, *trapa*, 'tin.'

that the flowers of both these shrubs are used in the worship of gods. It was chiefly this similarity of meaning and use that led me to find the ancient Tagara in the modern Karavira-Kōlhāpur.¹ But I was never quite satisfied with the identification. And I was always prepared to find, or accept, a better one.

Now, not very long ago I was searching closely the sheets of the Indian Atlas with a view to identifying the village of Mākarappi, which the record of A.D. 612 registers as granted to a resident of Tagara. It is obvious that, for such a gift to be of practical use to a grantee, the village given to him must be within a reasonable distance from his place of abode, in order that he may visit it from time to time, to superintend the cultivation of it and collect his dues. I was not expecting to find Tagara actually under its own name. I was only hoping to discover Mākarappi, and so to go perhaps a step further towards identifying Tagara with, more finally, any of the places mentioned above, or with some fresh place. But, in the course of scrutinising, one after the other, all the sheets of the Atlas in which I might expect to find Mākarappi, I came at last to sheet No. 56, published in 1845. And there, almost at once, I found the town which unquestionably gives us the ancient Tagara by its own name. It is shewn in that map as 'Thair,' on a small river named 'Thairna,' in the Naldrug district of the Nizam's Dominions.

¹ See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. i, part ii), p. 538, note 8.—It is only since beginning to put together this article that I have become aware that the identification of Tagara with Kōlhāpur was proposed long ago, in 1845, by Bal Gangadhar Shastree, who said :—"Kolapur, called in Sanskrit Karavirapura, or Tagarapura, holds an exalted station among the holy places of the Hindus" (*Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 268). To this he added the footnote :—"The word Kolapur itself probably meant the same thing as Tagarapura. It owes its origin either to the Sanskrit word Kulhar or to the Canarese word Kolihi, both of which signify a lotus." I do not recognise either the Sanskrit word, or the Kanarese word, which the Shastree had in view. Nor do I find any authority for the word *tagara* having the meaning of 'a lotus.' And the Shastree seems to have been guided only by finding the hereditary title "supreme lord of Tagara, the best of towns," in two of the Śilāhara inscriptions at Kōlhāpur (for one of them, of A.D. 1143, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 207).

It lies in lat. 18° 19', long. 76° 12'. And it is about ninety-five miles towards the south-south-east-three-quarters-east from Paīṭhan.

It is no very wonderful thing to have thus discovered the modern representative of the ancient Tagara.¹ The matter only required a careful examination of the maps, and a knowledge of the modern forms into which the ancient name of the city might pass, and an acquaintance with the peculiarities of early transliteration. And the marvel simply is that, for more than fifty years, the place should have stared us in the face, in maps and gazetteers, unrecognised. But it is a satisfactory thing to have done. And it only remains to establish the correctness of the identification.

And, in the first place, as regards the identity of the two names Tagara and 'Thair.' The word *Tagara*, 'a city,' corrupts into *nēr*, or occasionally *nar*; evidently through an intermediate form *nayara*.² And so, from Tagara we

¹ The discovery might have been made long ago, if a hint given to Sir Walter Elliot, and published by him, had been followed up by a proper examination of maps. On the subject of Tagara, he wrote:—"A native trader once told me he had passed through a town of this name on his way from Dharwar to Nagpur, four kos beyond Kalbarga. He described it as a good-sized town, with a bazaar, and a nala near it. But it was most probable he was mistaken, for had it been in that position it must have been observed by some European traveller who must have frequently passed that way" (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, F.S., vol. iv, 1837, p. 35, note 1). The maps do not indicate any direct route from Kalbarga to Nāgpur; and evidently there has not been any such route, because too many rivers intervene. They show two routes northward from Kalbarga. The routes diverge at Aland or Alande, a famous place in the history of Śaivism (see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 243, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 2), about twenty-three miles north-west from Kalbarga; and they meet again at the town 'Darur,' 'Dārur,' 'Dharur,' or 'Dhārur,' which has already been mentioned, about thirty-three miles on the north of 'Thair.' One of them goes through 'Ausa,' about twenty-two miles east-by-south from 'Thair.' And the other goes *via* Tuljāpur, 'Dharaseo,' and 'Kallam,' passing about six miles on the west of 'Thair.' It is evident, now, that Sir Walter Elliot's informant was referring to 'Thair.' And it is equally plain that the "four kōs," which was the misleading factor in the matter, must be a mistake for "forty kōs;" 'Thair' being about eighty miles towards the north-west-by-west from Kalbarga.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii, p. 118, and notes 4, 6. With this passing of *g* into *y*, compare the interchange of *g* and *v*, of which I have given instances in showing the identity of the names Sivunūr and Jigālūr or Jigālūr; see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 258.

should expect Tēr; or from Tagarapura, Tērūr; or from Tagaranagara, Tērñēr or Tērñar. And Tēr is certainly the name which we have in the disguise of the 'Thair' of the map. By anyone familiar with the old methods of transliteration, the *ai* of the form 'Thair' is recognised at once as one of the early devices for representing the long ē; another of them was *ei*, which we have, for instance, in 'Jamkheir' for Jāmkhēḍ, and 'Parneir' for Pārñēr, in the Atlas sheet No. 39 (1855). It would, perhaps, be rather peculiar that the initial *t* of Tagara should have become the aspirated *th*. But it is a question whether that has really happened. It is a detail that may perhaps have been brought about by the Musalmāns, who, apparently, have been responsible for turning Kalbarga into Kalburga, Kulbarga, Gulbarga, and Yelbarga into Yelburga, and, I think, have played mischief with other Hindū place-names also. On the other hand, it is at least equally possible that the aspirated *th* in the maps and gazetteers is due to nothing but a mistake by the surveyor or chartographer who first transliterated the name, and who perhaps heard it pronounced with a rather marked sound of the dental *t*, to distinguish the initial from the lingual *ṭ*. A searching of the maps would probably produce plenty of instances of the introduction of a superfluous *h*. But it will be sufficient if I adduce, in addition to the form 'Bheer,' 'Bhir,' in the case of a town mentioned above, which seems certainly to stand for Bīḍ, "a camp," three cases which present themselves to me off hand. (1) About twenty-seven miles towards the west-north-west from Bijāpur in the Bombay Presidency, there is a town, the chief town of a Native State, the name of which is Jat, or more strictly Jatt. I have been at the town, more than once. And I know that its true name is Jat, Jatt. Also, I have its ancient name, "the *agrahāra* Jatte," in a record, at the town itself, which refers itself to A.D. 1077. In the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), its name is given, quite correctly according to the custom then prevalent, as 'Jutt.' But somehow or other, since then, its name has been transformed by official usage into 'Jath.' And this erroneous

form of it has become so thoroughly well established, officially, that, not only does the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 66 (1883), shew the name as 'Jath,' but also the name is actually certified as 'Jath,' in Nāgari characters as well as in transliteration, in the official compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, which was intended to give us the correct and authoritative spelling of the names of all important places in the Bombay Presidency. (2) The Indian Atlas sheet No. 57 (1854) shews, about twenty-one miles towards the east-south-east from Shōlāpur in the Bombay Presidency, 'Ankulkhoot,' by mistake for Akalkōṭ or Akkalkōṭ, the chief town of the Native State of the same name. (3) The name of Parigi, a small town in the Hindupur subdivision of the Anantapur district, Madras Presidency, is shewn, with sufficient correctness, as 'Purrygee' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 59 (1828); but it figures as 'Parghy,' according to official usage, in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. iii (1893), p. 343. We may further note that, while the Atlas sheet No. 56 shews the name of the place with which we are actually concerned as 'Thair,' it shews, near the sources of the 'Thairna' river, about twenty-one miles towards the west-north-west from 'Thair,' a village, obviously connected in some way with 'Thair' itself and with the river, the name of which it gives as 'Tairkedda,' with the unaspirated *t*.¹ We may further notice the facts that the map opposite the title-page of the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. i (1885), gives the name of the town as 'Tair' and the name of the river as 'Tairna,' both with the unaspirated *t*, and that map 81 in Cassell's Universal Atlas (1893), while giving the name of the river as 'Thairna,' with the *th*, similarly gives

¹ The name stands, no doubt, for Tērkhēdēm. And it probably means "the small village Tēr;" *khēdēm* being a word which signifies, according to Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhi Dictionary, 'a hamlet or small village (chiefly of husband-men).' But the same sheet shews a village named 'Towrajkhaid,' near the sources of the 'Towraj' river, eight miles east-north-east from 'Thair.' And it is thus possible that the '*kedda*,' '*khaid*,' may here stand for some local word having a meaning connected with the source of a river.

the name of the town as 'Tair,' with the unaspirated *t*. And, finally, we may remark that Dr. Burgess, who travelled through this part of the country in 1875-76 but happened not to visit the town with which we are concerned, has written the name of the river as 'Ternā,' with the unaspirated *t*.¹ Of the two explanations which I have suggested, either may be adopted. Personally, knowing as much as I do about the vagaries of official spelling in maps and gazetteers and other compilations, I believe that the form 'Thair' is due to nothing but a mistake in transliteration, and does not really exist even in local official usage. But, be the case as it may be on that point, I am so sure that local inquiries, addressed to the cultivators and other native inhabitants of the place, would result in proving that the name of the town really is Tēr, and not Thēr, that I do not hesitate to adopt finally the form Tēr. It may be added that, as the Atlas sheet marks the town as having three "pagodas," it is not at all unlikely that the place possesses a *Māhātmya* or local *Purāṇa*, which would in all probability present the ancient name Tagara under some pretext or another, just as the *Māhātmya* of Mahākūṭa, close to Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, localises there the story of the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala by the sage Agastya, because the ancient form of the name of Bādāmi was Vātāpi.²

Secondly, as regards the present importance of the town Tēr. It is shewn in the Atlas sheet No. 56 in such a manner as to stamp it, not as a village, large or small, but as a minor town.³ And it is treated as "Thair,

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 4.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii, p. 238 f. It is in accordance with the general opinion about such matters, that I have said that the *Mahākūṭamahātmya* localises the story at Mahākūṭa because the ancient name of Bādāmi was Vātāpi. But I am much inclined to believe that the name of Ilvala represents the town of Aihole, in former times a famous place, close to Bādāmi and Mahākūṭa, and that the story was evolved out of some historical occurrence in which these two towns were concerned.—For the story, reference may be made to Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, p. 414 f. The currency of it is carried back to the period A.D. 655 to 680 by the Kūram copper-plate record; see *South-Ind. Insers.*, vol. i, p. 152.

³ It may be noted that the Atlas sheets show a 'Theirgaon' sixteen miles towards the north - by - west from Karjat in the Ahmadnagar district;

a town," etc., in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, vol. iv (1854). The information given to Sir Walter Elliot represents it, no doubt correctly, as a market-town.¹ It has a population of 8,015, according to Philip's Gazetteer of India by Ravenstein (1900); and, in this respect, it compares well enough with Paithan, the representative of at least an equally great ancient city, which has now no more than 8,788 inhabitants, and it surpasses various up-country subdivisional head-quarters and other towns known to me as trading-centres. It has been treated as of sufficient importance to be shewn,—sometimes as 'Thair'; sometimes, by a slight improvement on this form, as 'Ther,' and then the river is usually shewn as 'Therna;' and twice, as already remarked, as 'Tair,' with the river in one case as 'Tairna,'—in every map of India, except the Railway Maps of 1886 and 1890,² that I have looked at, since finding it in the Atlas sheet. And it has perhaps played a part in later history, as it is shewn, as 'Ther,' in the map given by Major King to illustrate his account of the Muhammadān dynasties of the Dekkan.³

We have thus found a town, which presents the required identity of name, and is still of sufficient importance to be reasonably taken as the representative of an ancient city. And it only remains to shew that this town, the modern Tēr, answers properly in other respects, also, to what we learn from the *Periplus* about the ancient Tagara. Exactly in accordance with what is indicated in respect of Tagara, Tēr

a 'Thaigaon,' thirteen miles towards the east-north-east from Paithan; a 'Tagurgaon,' sixteen miles west-half-north from 'Bheer'; and a 'Taigaon,' forty-one miles east-a-quarter-north from 'Thair.' These, however, are merely ordinary villages. And it would be only as a last resource that one would think of identifying an ancient city with a small village. But the finding of the first three of these places first indicated to me that I might, after all, possibly find Tagara itself under something like its own name. It is questionable whether 'Tagurgaon' may have any connection with Tagara. It is probable, however, that the three other places have some such connection, and were founded by emigrants from Tagara after the time when its name had passed into Tēr.

¹ See note 1 on page 542 above.

² These maps, however, do not aim at shewing any very full details, except in the vicinity of the actual routes of the various railways. And it was only by accident that I looked at them, in this matter, at all.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix, p. 4.

is just about half as far from Paithan as Paithan is from Broach. According to the *Periplus*, Paithan was a twenty days' journey by road from Broach, and Tagara was "about" ten days by road from Paithan. As the crow flies, Paithan is about 220 miles from Broach, and Tēr is about ninety-five miles from Paithan. If we allow one mile on every ten miles for deviations from the straight line in actual travelling, the distances to be traversed come to, respectively, about 242 and 104 miles. This distance from Broach to Paithan, as a twenty days' journey, gives the very appropriate average of twelve miles as a day's journey.¹ And the same daily average makes Tēr a nine days' journey, or "about ten days," from Paithan. Though not literally to the east from Paithan, Tēr is further towards the east than Paithan is, by about fifty miles; and this amount of easterly bearing, on an actual distance in a direct line of rather less than twice as much, is quite enough to account for the person who gave the information about Tagara to the author of the *Periplus*, describing it, roughly, as "towards the east" from Paithan. And Tēr stands, just as the *Periplus* says Tagara stood, on the route for the carriage of goods to Broach from districts bordering on the sea. There has been a misunderstanding, which affected some of the previous proposals for the identification of Tagara, to the effect that the *Periplus* refers to merchandise taken up to Tagara in the course of transit to Broach from parts along the western coast. But, for the traffic with Broach from those parts, the sea itself, or even a track along the coast, would

¹ I should think that everyone will agree that the *Periplus* is very correct in indicating twelve miles as the average day's journey for laden carts. I have found that, along a good and well-kept high-road, the Indian bullock-carts, on two wheels and drawn by two oxen, can cover even as much as twenty miles during the night, in ample time to get the tents pitched and the other camping arrangements completed before about nine o'clock in the morning. But my experience has been that, along cross-country tracks and even second-class made-roads, twelve miles is quite as much as can be done comfortably. And the ancient roads, even the best of them, can hardly have been superior to the second-class made-roads of the present day. The drivers of carts travelling according to their own convenience would, of course, do the day's journey either all during the night, or part in the evening and part in the early morning, according to the season of the year.

present far greater facilities than roads which would have to climb the Western Ghauts, pass through much difficult country at the back of them, and then eventually traverse the Ghauts again. Sir James Campbell suggested long ago, in 1883, that it was the eastern coast, on the Bay of Bengal, that was concerned.¹ And it is a matter for regret that more prominence was not given to his suggestion, and that the inquiry about Tagara was not pushed more closely then. A study of the maps has shewn to me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well-marked traces still remain, from the east coast through Golconda or Haidarābād, Tēr, and Paṭṭaṇ, to Broach, of so ingeniously devised a nature that one might almost think that it was laid out, not from constant trials and experiments at intermediate points, but from actual maps, such as the sheets of the Indian Atlas, which shewed at a glance the obstacles to be avoided and the means of avoiding them. There were two starting-points. One was Masulipatam, on the coast, in the northern part of the Kistna district; and the road from this place took, not only the local traffic from the coast districts on the north of the Kṛṣṇā, but also the sea-borne traffic from the far east. The other starting-point was probably Vinukonda, inland, in the southern part of the same district, which would serve admirably as a collecting centre for the local products of the sea-side country on the south of the Kṛṣṇā. The roads from these two places joined each other at a point about twenty-six miles towards the east-by-south from Haidarābād, or perhaps at a point about twenty-three miles further in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner, through easy country, *viā* Haidarābād, Kalyāṇi, Tēr, Paṭṭaṇ, and Daulatābād, to 'Chandore' and Mārkiṇḍa in the west of the Nāsik district. And only there, in the Western Ghauts, within about a hundred miles of Broach, commenced the real difficulties of the journey,—the "vast places that had no proper roads at all."

¹ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xvi, Nasik, p. 181, note 2; see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

It will be interesting to exhibit the whole route, stage by stage. And it will be useful to do so; because the route throws a light on various historical and geographical points which have hitherto been obscure. But the matter would occupy more space than can be spared in the pages of this Journal. And I will finish this note on Tagara by making some brief observations on the general question of the identification of ancient and modern places. The chief obstacle in many cases,—and in some it is a factor which leads to erroneous results,—is the difficulty of ascertaining the real forms of the modern place-names. I have referred above to peculiarities of early transliteration, and to vagaries of official spelling. And I have had occasion to make remarks elsewhere, also, in connection with specific points, on unsatisfactory features in the official system of spelling Indian place-names, and on the only reliable method of determining the true forms of the modern names in some cases, namely, by personal inquiries addressed, not to the district and subdivisional officials and their clerks, but to the cultivators and the hereditary officials and the other native inhabitants of the villages themselves.¹ When it is not possible to make local inquiries, or to deduce a reliable result with the help of an ancient record, very often the original sheets of the Indian Atlas are the best guide, in spite of their various shortcomings. Occasionally, we may obtain more help from the revised quarter-sheets of that Atlas, and from the various Survey and Topographical maps, in all of which the spelling of place-names is given in a more uniform manner and according to what is, to a certain extent, a more fixed and scientific system. But not in either case are any of the maps a final and reliable guide; partly because the official system is an imperfect one, and partly because there is no one to exercise a general control over it, in the way, even, of seeing that the system is followed with the absolute uniformity that is necessary, and still less in the important preliminary of seeing that the true names are obtained correctly before they

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix, p. 274, note 5, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 100, note 3, and p. 254, note 1.

are transliterated for inclusion in maps and gazetteers. We cannot by any means place implicit reliance even upon the official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, which purports to certify, in the Native characters as well as in transliteration, the actually correct forms of the names of all the most important places, rivers, *etc.*, in the Bombay Presidency. And still less can we rely upon the derivations of place-names presented to us officially in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, vol. iii (1893). But the work *Bombay Places* illustrates very well the kind of authority that we need for reference. For many practical purposes besides the inquiry into the ancient geography of India, we require, for the various Presidencies and other territorial divisions, compilations similar to *Bombay Places*, but containing certain additional details, and prepared more scientifically under the direction of some one person who will be interested in the matter and will have the knowledge that will enable him to superintend it on critical and uniform lines. The compilations should be as brief as is possible, consistently with their including all that is absolutely necessary. Etymological suggestions should be rigorously excluded. But ancient names obtained from early records should be given; and Sanskritised names, really in use and not simply deduced, should be given whenever they can be obtained from a local *Purāṇa* or similar authority: and, in both cases, the entries should be accompanied by notes as to the sources from which the information is derived, for verification if needed. Original identifications with ancient names should not be attempted. But identifications actually made and published within the last twenty-five years or so should be given, if the authority is *prima facie* sound, with, similarly, the necessary references. And finally, the present official system of transliteration should not be made intricate by the introduction of any diacritical marks, beyond the sign for the long *ā* which is already in use; and no alteration need, apparently, be made in the present official system of representing the consonants and vowels in Roman characters. But the forms presented to

us in the Native characters must be critical representatives of the absolutely true and correct modern forms, as determined by local inquiries, or by an examination of such village-records as the *Jamābandācīṭhās* of Bombay, or of such publications as the *Extracts from the Pēshcās' Diaries* which are now being compiled and issued at Poona. Such a compilation is what we require in respect of all the more important place-names. To supplement it in respect of the smaller places, we need compilations similar to, and arranged like, the *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle* (1879), which will shew, in alphabetical order and in transliteration only, the name of every town and village in each Postal Circle, with its district, subdivision, and post-town. Such compilations, however, must also be made complete and exhaustive. The Bombay Directory is often of use, in finding places mentioned in ancient records which belong to that part of India. But, comprehensive though it is, it does not include all the places in the Bombay Circle; nor does the similar compilation for Madras include all the places in the Madras Circle.

I will, in conclusion, cite the following as a rather curious instance of the way in which a mistake, once introduced officially, is liable to be perpetuated and even enhanced. About eleven miles south-west-by-south from Tēr, there is a small town, with a population of 10,511 and with some ancient cave-temples, the name of which is given in various maps, of dates ranging from about 1879 to 1900, as 'Daraseo' and 'Dharaseo.' The name has been given elsewhere as 'Dhārāsīnva,'¹ 'Dhārasinwā,' 'Dhārasinwa,' and 'Dhārāsīnwā.'² And we infer that the real name may be something like Dhārāsīva, or possibly Dhārāsīmbha. In the original Indian Atlas sheet No. 56 (1845), the name was given as 'Darasco;' simply, as we can now see, through the omission to notice and correct a printer's mistake of *c* for *e*. The mistake was detected subsequently. And in the reissue of the same sheet, "with additions to 1882," there

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. iii (1878), pp. v, vii, 1, 4, 12.

² *Cave-Temples of India* (1880), pp. 169, 417, and index.

was substituted 'Dharashev.' Meanwhile, however, the mistake had evidently crept from the original Atlas sheet into some other maps ; for, map 81 in Cassell's Universal Atlas (1893) presents the name as 'Dharasco.' And the map given by Major King to illustrate his history of the Muhammadān dynasties of the Dekkan,¹ following some map in which this name stands spelt in accordance with the original printer's mistake, but substituting *k* for *c* according to the present rules of transliteration, has finally presented us with the fully developed, and apparently critical and authentic but really spurious, name of 'Dārāsko.'

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxix (1900), p. 4.

Don K Sewell.
May 1905

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ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.

BY
ROBERT SEWELL.



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XXIII.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.

By ROBERT SEWELL.

I HAVE attempted, in the lists which accompany this paper, to collect and classify all discoveries of Roman coins made in India during the last century and a half, which have been regularly recorded in English scientific publications; adding to them some remarks on finds which, though not so published, it is impossible for me to ignore, since they came under my own observation. It is perhaps hardly necessary for me to enter on an elaborate explanation of the reasons why such tabulated information may be held to be of value, seeing that obviously, if the lists are accurate and exhaustive, a classification such as this assumes the nature of an index to a volume, or, as in the present case, to a very large number of volumes.

To draw up the lists I have searched through the following publications :—

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Numismatic Chronicle.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Proceedings of the same Society.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the same.
The Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
The Indian Antiquary.
The Asiatic Researches.
The Annual Reports of the Madras Archaeological Survey.
The Annual Reports of the Epigraphical Department of the same Survey.
The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Surveys of the Panjāb, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Bengal, and Western India (some of which, however, have not reached me).
Sir A. Cunningham's Archaeological Reports.
The Epigraphia Indica.
Catalogues of Coins prepared by the Superintendents of the Madras Government Central Museum.
And many other volumes.

I have done my best to ensure that no information published in any of these works should escape me, but it stands to reason that omissions may have unfortunately occurred, owing to such causes as the absence of an index in many cases, especially troublesome in the issues of "Proceedings" of Societies. If, therefore, anyone can supplement the lists with information coming from authentic sources, I shall be the first to welcome such additions.

Let me admit at the outset that deductions drawn from such lists as these must of necessity be merely tentative and provisional. In the first place, it is, in the nature of things, impossible for us ever to know anything of the coins discovered in the centuries prior to the English occupation of the various parts of British India. Secondly, there must have been innumerable discoveries of coins which have passed into private collections, and are, at least temporarily, lost to the scientific world. There must also be reports of finds published in scattered volumes, in newspaper issues, in magazines, and in reviews, many of which must elude the observation of any one man, however industrious. The information available to us, therefore, consists of only a fraction of the whole, and we could be perfectly certain of our ground only if we possessed that whole. Even so we can only theorize from discoveries made up to date, and are always liable to have our ideas upset by discoveries in the future.

An examination of the Tables compels us to observe five different periods in the connection of Rome with India, and leads us to the following conclusions :—

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an intercourse which, enabling the Romans to obtain Oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died A.D. 68.

3. From this time forward the trade declined till the date of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

And as regards the objects of the trade—

(a) Under the early emperors there was a great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, unguents, pearls, and precious stones, especially the beryl.

(b) In the declining period between Nero and Caracalla there was little or no demand for mere luxuries, and the activity of merchants was directed towards cotton and industrial products.

(c) Under the Byzantine emperors the trade was mostly with Travancore and the south-west coast, commerce with the interior and the Dekhan country having declined.

These assertions will be now dealt with separately.

The First Period.

There seems to have been little trade between India and Rome in the years preceding the reign of Augustus. If there were any it would seem that Indian imports did not include Roman specie. The only Consular coins hitherto found¹ have been seven silver *denarii* discovered by

¹ It must be remembered always that I proceed solely on the results of my examination of the reports and information contained in the works above mentioned. Of private and unrecorded discoveries I can say nothing.

Capt. A. Court in 1830 in one of the Manikyāla stupas, and eight out of twenty-three coins recovered from the natives who, in 1898, found a hoard in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb. The rest of the hoard apparently passed into the hands of the dealers at Rāwal Pindi. Trade there may have been, and probably was, along the old routes that had existed for hundreds of years; but Rome did not spread eastwards till the later years of the Consulate; Palmyra had not then opened its doors to adventurous Roman merchants; there could have been little traffic along the desert tracks that led to Petra and the Gulf of Akabah, and still less to Yemen or the Persian Gulf; and though Alexandria was taken by Julius Cæsar in B.C. 47, the sea-borne trade must have been small in those days and very uncertain, being conveyed as it was in Arab boats along a coast infested with pirates. Whatever exports found their way to Europe from India at that period went probably to Greece rather than to Rome.

The Second Period.

The Imperial age of Rome, however, from Augustus down to Nero, saw a great change in this respect. With Augustus began a period of Asiatic conquest. Roman influence at Palmyra began to be felt in the later years of that emperor, and the occupation of Palestine opened up for Roman merchants the trade-route to Petra and the head of the Sinaitic Gulf. Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between East and West, was now in Roman hands. Rome was a world power; its emperors were supreme, and the internal dissensions that eventually led to the overthrow of the State had not begun. Hence arose on the part of the wealthy an unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries that greatly shocked the more sober-minded citizens of Rome. Pliny, for instance, writing about A.D. 70 or thereabouts (after the death of the Empress Poppœa in A.D. 66), lifts up his voice against it, lamenting the wasteful extravagance of the richer classes and their reckless expenditure on

perfumes, unguents, and personal ornaments, saying that a hundred million sesterces¹ were withdrawn from the empire annually to purchase useless Oriental products, "so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women."

About the year A.D. 47 the regularity of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean was discovered, and ships began for the first time to sail direct to Muziris (Muyirikōḍu) in Malabar; a course which gave great impetus to Indian commerce, since it added immensely to the security of the cargoes, which no longer had to fear the attacks of Arabs on caravans crossing the deserts or of pirates on vessels hugging the coast.

The demand on India in Rome was mostly for spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, fine muslins, precious stones, and cottons, and these were supplied mostly from the west coast ports. The most highly prized of the stones was the beryl, only found in India in one place, namely, Paḍiyūr in the Coimbatore District, or at most in two, Vāṇiyambāḍi in the Salem District being also said to possess a mine; and these beryls were believed to be the best and purest in the world. It is in the neighbourhood of these mines that the largest number of Roman coins of the period we are considering (Augustus to Nero) have been found. It will be observed that almost all the articles mentioned here were products of the south of India, though no doubt some of the perfumes came from the rose-gardens of the north, while the cottons were prepared in the Dekhan, and the muslins mostly at Masulipatam and the country about there.

It is for this reason probably that so many Roman coins have been found in and near the Coimbatore District and at Madura, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, while the finds in the north of India have been by no means so numerous.

Another reason for the dearth of coins in the north has, however, been given, and it deserves every consideration. It concerns the Scythian conquest of North-West India and the

¹ £1,100,000, of which £600,000 went to Arabia and £500,000 to India (cf. Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 299-300).

ultimate supremacy of the Kuṣanas. General Cunningham, Mr. Vincent Smith, and Mr. Rapson concur in the belief¹ that the great Kuṣana kings, whose annexation of North-West India took place, according to Mr. Smith, in A.D. 95, recoinced the Roman *aurei*, issuing from their mints their own coins of precisely the same weight. I understand these authorities to mean either that the Roman gold coins were melted down in a mass and new coins issued from the metal, having exactly the weight of the *aurei* for the reason that the Kuṣanas admired that coin; or else that each *aureus* was melted separately and restruck. In any case this would, of course, account for the paucity of finds of Roman coins in North India at the present day as compared with finds in the south; since in the latter country these coins appear to have circulated just as they came. That the Scythian conquest did not injuriously affect Roman trade with North India would seem to be evidenced, as pointed out by Mr. Smith, by the fact that the sculpture, painting, and other arts of that tract were as largely influenced by Rome as they had formerly been by Greece; and if such was the case we can only account for the absence of coins in North India in two ways—either the coins imported were collected, melted, and restruck, or the trade itself, though encouraged, was small. Certain it is that the exports to Rome of which we have mention in classical writers were mostly products of South India and the Dekhan.

We turn now to the Tables themselves and analyze the reported discoveries in India of coins of this period, i.e. the eighty years from Augustus to Nero.

In North India I find a satisfactory record of only one discovery, namely, some denarii of Augustus and Tiberius in the Hazāra District, Panjāb; twelve of Augustus and two of Tiberius were recovered, the rest passing into the hands of dealers.

In Southern India we have in actual numbers 612 gold

¹ *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 50; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1889, p. 157; *Indian Coins*, pp. 4, 16.

coins and 1187 silver, besides hoards discovered which are severally described as follows:—of gold coins “a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads”; and of silver coins (1) “a great many in a pot,” (2) “about 500 in an earthen pot,” (3) “a find of 163,” (4) “some,” (5) “some thousands,” enough to fill “five or six Madras measures,” i.e. perhaps a dozen quart measures; also, (6) of metal not stated, “a pot-full.” These coins are the product of fifty-five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura Districts.

In the Bombay Presidency I have not found a trace of any discovery of coins of this period; and in Ceylon only one, viz. certain coins alluded to by De Couto as having been found in A.D. 1574. These were attributed, but apparently on very slender grounds, to Claudius. It is curious that we have no recorded finds of Roman coins in the neighbourhood of the great commercial centres of the Bombay Presidency.

It will be well to note here the list of exports and imports from and to India mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 80), seeing that these refer mostly to the period we are considering. Leaving aside its mention of the commerce at ports west of the Indus, the *Periplus* gives us the following list¹:—

EXPORTS FROM BARUGAZA (BHARUCH).

Onyx stones.

Porcelain (probably from China).

Fine muslins and others. (The finest muslins came from the neighbourhood of Masulipatam.)

Cottons in large quantity (from the Dekhan and eastern districts).

Spikenard (probably from the north).

Perfumes (*κρότος*).

Bdellium (a gum).

Ivory, myrrh, silk, and pepper also seem to be included, though the expression in the text is dubious.

¹ Vincent's *Periplus*, edit. of 1805, vol. ii, p. 369 ff.

EXPORTS FROM BARAKĒ (NELKUNDA ; PROBABLY KADALTUNḌI,
NEAR BEYPORE).

Pepper in great quantity.	Betel.
Pearls.	Precious stones.
Ivory.	Diamonds.
Fine silks (possibly from China).	Amethysts.
Spikenard.	Tortoise-shell.

It must also be specially noticed as bearing on the question of coins found respectively in North and South India that whereas the *Periplus* mentions "specie" in one word as imported to Bharoch, he gives as his first entry in the list of imports to the southern port "great quantities of specie" (χρήματα πλείστα).

It is curious that the author of the *Periplus* does not mention the beryl as an article of export from South India, seeing that Pliny¹ specially alludes to it, saying that the best kind came from India. It seems to be a fact that this stone, the highly prized *aqua marina* of the Romans, was only found in one place (or possibly two²) in India, namely, at Paḍiyūr, in the District of Coimbatore. The only other places where this stone is found are in North and South America and Siberia, which countries were unknown to the Romans; and, in inferior quality, in parts of Europe, one being at Limoges. Ptolemy,³ writing half a century after the *Periplus*, speaks of *πουννάτα ἐν τῇ βήρυλλος*, "Punnāta, whence comes the beryl." As to the name 'Punnāta,' Mr. Lewis Rice has pointed out that this was the name of an ancient division in the extreme south of the old Kongu kingdom, at a later date called 'Paḍinād.' The last syllable 'nād' means a tract or district, and when for this is substituted the common name for a town in Dravidian tongues, 'ūr,' we have the word Paḍiyūr, which is the known locale of the beryl-mines. And though Paḍiyūr lies sixty miles from the Mysore frontier, it is quite possible

¹ Nat. Hist., bk. xxxvii, cap. v.

² Colonel Yule (Smith's *Ancient Atlas*) says that there was a beryl-mine at Vaniyambādi, which is 150 miles or so east of Paḍiyūr, in the modern District of Salem. In this he follows Newbold, M.J.L.S. xii (July, 1840), p. 175.

³ Geog. vii, cap. i, 86.

that in Roman days it formed part of the Kongu or Chera kingdom. Since large numbers of Roman gold coins have been found near this place, we can have no doubt of the identity of the locality.

The Third Period.

The third period begins with the death of Nero (A.D. 68) and ends with Caracalla (A.D. 217).

Though there was a rapid increase of geographical knowledge of India in Rome during this period, it seems almost certain that the commerce itself suffered a decline. Of the emperors who flourished between Nero and Caracalla only thirty-two gold coins can be counted as having been found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the other finds being described as "a number" in one case and "a few" in another. And when we examine the locale of these discoveries we cannot fail to observe that whereas the coins belonging to the previous period have turned up in the tracts that provided spices and precious stones, the coins of this, third, period have mostly been found in a totally different locality. The former were unearthed principally in the country about Coimbatore, Madura, and the west coast; the latter come mostly from places further north. There have been only three finds in Madura of coins of this period, and none in Coimbatore or the west coast. The rest were discovered at Vinukonda in the Kistna District, in the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts, near Sholapur, and in Surat. These are cotton-growing countries. If, therefore, we had to judge solely from these coins, we should be compelled to assume that the trade with Rome in such luxuries as spices, perfumes, and precious stones almost entirely ceased after the death of Nero, and only a limited trade in necessities, such as cotton fabrics, continued.

And I think we can see a reason for this in the condition of Rome itself and its upper classes. An Indian reason is not apparent, for we know very little of the political upheavals in South India at this period. It is of course

possible that wars between Pāṇdyans and Chōlas, or between Pāṇdyans and Pallavas, resulted in an exodus from Madura of the Roman merchants who resided there, but such an argument can receive no prominence, as it can only be founded on the purest conjecture. Moreover, such political conditions in India as we do know of, viz. the supremacy in the North-West of the Śaka Kuṣanas, and the subsequent lowering of Śaka power by the great Āndhra kings, would not account for the seemingly sudden decline of commerce with South India after the death of Nero. It seems evident, therefore, that we must seek for the reason for this decline in the condition of Rome itself.

Certain it is that when at Nero's death the race of the Claudii became extinct Rome was convulsed by disputes about the succession, and that these disputes were followed by civil war. Galba reigned for six months only, and was murdered. Otho and Vitellius fought for the imperial throne, and the former put an end to himself after a nominal rule of three months. Vitellius ruled for eight months and was murdered, the capitol having been sacked by his followers.¹ When Vespasian secured the empire he proved of a totally different disposition to the Claudians. Simple and unostentatious, active and industrious, he discouraged all lavish display of luxury on the part of the nobles and devoted himself to reforms. It is probable, too, that the leaders of Roman society were themselves tired of the wanton extravagance and profligacy of the age that had passed; and that, as usual in such cases, their revolt against the excesses that had become scandalous took the form of a parsimony and self-denial that ran in the opposite extreme—a state of things that we ourselves have witnessed in England in the Puritan age. Vespasian issued several enactments to suppress the excesses of the nobles, and actually produced a great change in their mode of living.

¹ Vitellius is said to have spent seven millions sterling in "vulgar and brutal sensuality" during his few months' reign. The quotation is from Merivale, who writes:—"The degradation of Rome was complete; never yet perhaps had she sunk so low in luxury and licentiousness as in the few months which followed the death of Otho."

Merivale says: "The Romans themselves remarked the rise of a new era in social manners at this period. The simpler habits of the plebeians and the provincials prevailed over the reckless luxury and dissipation in which the highest classes . . . had so long indulged." So that the demand in Rome for the products of the East, the spices and ivory, the silks and precious stones, the diaphanous muslins and costly adornments, ceased, and to these succeeded a commerce which was concerned principally with simple cotton fabrics.

Titus reigned for only two years. Domitian's cruelty and tyranny were such that during his reign there was no encouragement given to wealthy families to revert to the luxuries of the Claudian age. His successor, Nerva, had only a two-years' reign, remarkable for gentleness, economy, and retrenchment. Trajan, who followed, was a soldier and of simple habits. Hadrian's social example was all for good, at least for a time. Antoninus Pius led a blameless life. Marcus Aurelius was strict and self-denying in all his private relations. In fact, it seems clear that during this period the habits of Roman society had changed. And it is to this change that I venture to attribute the decline of Oriental commerce after the time of Nero, a decline still further hastened by the disorganization of the Empire which made rapid strides during and after the reign of Commodus.

In all probability Roman merchants continued to reside in Southern India either permanently or temporarily. The Peutingerian tables, which appear to have been copied from fresco paintings in Rome executed in the second century A.D., place near Muziris, or Muṣirikōḍu (modern Cranganore, Kuḍaṅgalūr in the vernacular), a temple of Augustus; but no traces of this are known to exist, and it is impossible to say to which emperor it was dedicated. Dr. Caldwell considered¹ that these geographical tables or maps were prepared at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy.

¹ *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd., p. 14.

The coins found in India during this period, and reported on, may be thus classified.

In Northern India a coin of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) was found amongst twelve enclosed in a box, the rest belonging to my fourth period. Three *aurei* of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina were discovered in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelālābād. One *denarius* of Hadrian was found in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb.

In the Bombay Presidency only three finds, at Darphal, near Sholapur, Nagdhara, in the Surat District, and Waghode, in Khandeish, have been reported; in the first of which were a few coins of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), a few of Lucius Verus (161-169), a few of Commodus (180-192), several of Septimius Severus (193-211), and one of Geta (211-12); the second consisting of a single coin of Lucius Verus; and the third of a single coin of Septimius Severus.

In the Madras Presidency, in the Districts where such large numbers of the coins of the former period were discovered, we have for this period only four finds: one at Pudukōṭa, a native state not far from Madura, of three *aurei* of Vespasian; one at Kalliyamputtūr, in the Madura District, of five *aurei* of Domitian, and two of Cocceius Nerva (A.D. 96-98); one in the Madura District (place not specified) of a single *aureus* of Domitian; and one of Antoninus Pius recovered from the great hoard of "five cooly-loads" of gold coins found at Kōṭṭayam, near Cannanore.¹

The remainder were found in the cotton-growing districts, where, as before stated, few of the former period have been unearthed. These are (1) an *aureus* of Vespasian, one of Domitian, five of Hadrian, three of Antoninus Pius, two of Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, two of Marcus Aurelius, one of Commodus, and one of Caracalla, found at Vinukonda, south of the Kṛishṇā river; a number of gold coins of Trajan, one of Hadrian, and one of Faustina the elder, near Nellore; and one of Trajan in the Cuddapah District.

¹ An *aureus* of Marcus Aurelius was found at Karuvūr in the Madura District (see "Supplementary Note" at end).

The Fourth Period.

After the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217) it would appear that trade ceased almost entirely.

The Roman Empire during all this period was a prey to confusion, internal and external. There was a rapid succession of weak rulers, perpetual discord, numberless assassinations and revolts, and general disturbance; while the Goths broke into Italy and ravaged the country. This in itself is quite sufficient to account for the cessation of trade with the East.

But certain other matters should also be considered. Firstly, when seeking to discover the cause for this serious decline of commercial activity we seem unable to attribute it altogether to the condition of the countries on the route to India. I shall go further into this question presently.

Secondly, Alexandria, though always turbulent and in large measure anti-Roman, was still flourishing up to the date of Caracalla, whose brutal treatment of the youth of that city could hardly have had the effect of putting an end to all Oriental commerce. Alexandria's decay did not begin for many years later, and it is probable that diminution of trade with the East was a cause rather than an effect of the decline of the great emporium in Egypt.

Thirdly, we know of nothing in India that would have put an end to commerce with Rome. North-West and West India were at this period under the Kshatrapas and Guptas, but these rulers appear to have been favourably disposed towards the Roman Empire, from which they had nothing to fear and everything to gain. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his article on Græco-Roman influence in India published in 1889,¹ has fixed (p. 161) the year A.D. 150 as the earliest approximate date for Roman forms of architectural decoration reaching India, and he traces affinities in the Art of North-West India which would show that Roman influence lasted

¹ J.A.S. Bengal, vol. lviii.

down to so late a date as A.D. 450 (p. 172). If he is right, therefore, we may be sure that the cessation of trade with Rome after Caracalla is not to be attributed to the political conditions existing in North or West India at that period.

Nor, fourthly, would it appear that there were any such conditions in Western and Southern India as would put a stop to external trade with those countries after the year 217 A.D. The Western Kshatrapas held their own in parts of what is now the Bombay Presidency till at least the time of Samudra Gupta, A.D. 350, being finally conquered by Chandragupta Vikramāditya about A.D. 401. Their arts and coinage prove them to have looked on Rome with favour. The Pallavas would appear to have been the ruling power at this period in the country south and east of the Kshatrapas, in succession to the Āndhras, and there is nothing to show that they were antagonistic to Roman trade. That the Āndhras favoured the Romans seems to be shown from the presence of Roman influence at Amarāvati. (Mr. Vincent Smith, in the article quoted, refers to this, p. 169.) We know little as to the history of the southern nations at this period, but as it is certain that the Pāṇḍyan kings, who at that time were the paramount rulers of the south-western portion of the peninsula, had encouraged trade with the great European empire in earlier years, there is no reason to suppose that the stoppage of trade arose from any action of theirs. I shall show presently that there is good ground for the belief that their capital city, Madura, had much to do with the Romans.

We are therefore driven to find a reason elsewhere. And, differing from some writers who attribute the decay of trade solely to such causes as the strength of the Sassanid kings,¹ I am inclined to the belief that it is to the condition of Rome itself that we must look for the real cause of it. It seems clear to me that just as the demand for Oriental luxuries in Rome decreased when Roman manners underwent a change from lavish extravagance to simplicity under

¹ Whose rise dates from A.D. 226.

Vespasian, so the demand ceased altogether after Caracalla, when Rome was in too distracted a condition for its inhabitants to think of spending large sums of money on spices, perfumes, and ornaments. A certain amount of trade there no doubt was, but not a great deal. There may, of course, have been contributory influences at work, such as the disturbed condition of Alexandria and the Sassanid hatred of Rome. But my contention is that the latter were secondary, not primary. I cannot agree with Priaulx, who holds¹ that Roman intercourse with India was at its height "during the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, and the Pseudo-Antonines." It is true that Palmyrene trade flourished abundantly till its fall in A.D. 273, but that was probably due rather to the military requirements of Rome than to domestic demand for Oriental luxuries. Such trade as there was after the fall of Palmyra appears to have been carried on by the Arabs, who fixed on Adulē as their chief port.² Mr. Priaulx notices³ the facilities given by the Sassanid kings of Persia to the overland route, their beneficent administration, and the protection they extended to merchants, but the principal trade thus aided appears to have been in Chinese silks.

The finds of coins belonging to this period are as follows :— Only one has been found in Southern or Western India. This is a coin of Constantius II (A.D. 337–361) discovered in the Madura District, and it very possibly found its way to India after the revival of trade under the Eastern emperors.

In the north the discoveries relating to this period have been larger. Ten copper coins were found in a box (with one of Domitian and one of Theodosius) in "Upper India," the locality not being stated, the earliest being one of Gordian (A.D. 238), the latest one of Constantine (A.D. 306–337). At Bāmanghati in Bengal there was "a great find" of gold coins, amongst which were some of Gordian. The

¹ *Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 132.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

³ *Id.*, p. 252.

other discoveries, if any, are indefinitely reported, and I can base no argument upon them.

Before quitting this fourth period it is advisable to refer to the condition of the countries lying between Syria and India during this and the third period, or between the reign of Nero and the fall of the Roman Western Empire, in order to judge of the probable effect of such condition on Roman Oriental trade. Previous writers have seen in the Parthian and Neo-Sassanid domination in Persia the true cause for the decline of that trade, and since to some extent I differ from them, and contend that this cause was only contributory, it is necessary shortly to summarize the situation. At about the time of Nero's death all Asia Minor had become Roman. Thirty years later Trajan was at war with the Parthians, his desire being to obtain command of the lines of international traffic beyond the Tigris. But his successors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, abandoned this policy, and there was peace between the two nations. From A.D. 161 to 227, however, when the Parthian Empire fell under the dominion of the Persian Sassanids, war was almost incessant, and there can be little doubt that caravan traffic from Northern India to the West must at this period have severely suffered. But this caravan traffic was at no time of paramount importance to Rome; for Roman influence was supreme in Syria, and the trade-routes from Palmyra to the southern ports lay open to merchants. It was by the sea, and after Claudius by the open sea, that the bulk of the merchandize from Indian south-coast ports was carried to the Arabian marts and Alexandria; and the Parthian wars must have increased rather than diminished the popularity of these routes. This also was the most flourishing period in the history of Palmyra, which was friendly to Rome and did not come into conflict with it till A.D. 267. So that, had the internal condition of Rome itself at this period led to a continued demand for Oriental luxuries, trade with India would have been abundant. The fall of Palmyra in 273 A.D. would have still further facilitated this commerce had the Romans of that date seen any necessity for extending

it; and the very fact that they destroyed the city and abandoned it serves as an additional proof that the trade itself had by that time seriously declined.

Señor Lopes¹ considers that the decay of Roman trade with India was largely due to Sassanid encouragement of Persian maritime commerce, which practically swept the Roman vessels off the Indian seas; but it must be remembered that this influence could not have been felt till, at earliest, about A.D. 250, Sassanid supremacy only dating from A.D. 227, whereas, judging from the discoveries of Indian numismatology, the decay of Roman trade with India set in as early as A.D. 69. Persian domination may have given this trade its deathblow, but its decline is manifestly due to other causes.

The Fifth Period.

Trade with Rome revived somewhat under the Byzantine emperors.

The final division of the Roman empire into east and west took place in A.D. 364, and the next hundred years of Rome were terrible ones for her. A succession of powerless emperors held a show of authority. She was attacked by the Goths and seized by Alaric in A.D. 410. Attila the Hun ravaged the fair lands of Italy in 451. Three years later Genseric, the Vandal, seized and pillaged Rome. It was sacked again in 472, and in 476 it ceased to exist as an empire. This was evidently not a period when we could expect the citizens of Rome to encourage Oriental trade.

The eastern empire at Constantinople, first occupied as a seat of government by Constantine the Great in A.D. 330 and established as the capital of an empire in 376, lasted much longer and enjoyed far greater success. Almost in contact with Asia, and its upper classes having leisure as well as wealth, it was natural for the Asiatic trade to improve.

That products of South India found their way even to Rome at this period is clear from the fact that when Alaric

¹ *Os Portugueses no Malabar*, Intr. xxi.

spared Rome in A.D. 408, he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper; and the discovery, which will presently be more fully considered, of quantities of Roman copper coins, many of them of this period, in Madura, as well as on the eastern coast, seems to show that Roman agents were at that time resident in those parts. But it must be observed that we no longer hear of the precious stones of South India as being exported to Rome, and there have been no reported discoveries of coins of this period near the Paḍiyūr beryl-mines.

The coins found in India belonging to this period are as follows:—In the north a coin of Theodosius, included amongst the twelve found together “in a box”; and five gold coins of Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo found in a stupa at Hidda, near Jelālābād. The coins of this period lying in the Calcutta Museum in 1832, and reported on by James Prinsep, cannot be depended on, as it is possible that they were not unearthed in India.

Some coins of Theodosius, Arcadius, and “later Roman emperors” (names not specified) have been found in Ceylon, but the information at my disposal regarding them is not very exact; the only exception being that two of them, of Arcadius, were “brass.”

In Southern India we observe that no coins of this period have been found (or at least reported) in the cotton countries, where the most recent coin is one of the reign of Caracalla. At Madura we have a large quantity of copper coins found in the river bed and in waste places about the town, some of them being of Arcadius, emperor of the East (A.D. 395–408), and Honorius, emperor of the West (A.D. 395–423); one gold coin of Theodosius II, the successor of Arcadius; one of Zeno; and one of Anastatius. There have been finds, on the other hand, in Travancore, whence only one previous discovery is reported. A coin of Theodosius II was found at Kōṭṭayam, and at another place at least one each¹ of

¹ It would appear that no full examination has yet taken place of this hoard, which came to light last year.

Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Anastatius (491-518), and Justinus I (518). A coin of Theodosius I (371-395) was found at the Seven Pagodas, or Māmallapuram. Mr. Tracey has also coins of the same emperor found in the Madura District. And finally, Sir Walter Elliot noted finds of *oboli* "along the Coromandel coast," including some of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudoxia.

It would thus appear that, generally speaking, precious stones, cottons, and muslins were not much exported to Rome at this time, but that the trade was more or less confined to pepper and spices shipped from the southern ports both on the east and west.

Roman Coins at Madura.

I have mentioned more than once the fact of the discovery at Madura of a number of Roman copper coins. These I saw myself in 1881 in the possession of the late Mr. Scott, a Pleader of that place, who had collected them during a residence of many years there. Unfortunately Mr. Scott could not bring himself to take the trouble to catalogue or arrange them, and I am not aware what has become of them, so that no classification of them is possible at present. All I can say is that I saw a large number, probably some hundreds, lying loose in a drawer in Mr. Scott's house, some that I noted being of Arcadius and Honorius.¹ He gave me the following account of their discovery. He had for many years collected all sorts of South Indian coins, and had been in the habit of regularly paying people in Madura the full value of the metal brought to him; in

¹ I have been attempting to trace these coins, but up to the present have not succeeded. Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, tells me that after Mr. Scott's death his collection was, by his will, offered to that institution for examination and selection; and Dr. Hultzsch informs me that it was he who looked through it and made the selection. He found no Roman coins amongst them. I infer, therefore, that the Roman coins from Madura, or at least some of them, had been sent to the Museum at an earlier date, since Mr. Thurston writes (April 22nd last): "There is no complete list of Roman coppers found at Madura issued. There are some in the Museum collection." My statement in the text may therefore be accepted as substantially correct, though I am not in a position to give any details.

consequence of which many of the poorer classes used to search the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The result was the collection of a very large number of copper coins, almost all of which had been found at Madura itself. While ignoring, as I have been compelled to do in these classified lists, finds of coins which have not been reported or noticed in authentic publications, it is impossible for me to pass over this Madura collection, since I myself was shown the coins.

The discovery here and there of isolated coins of more valuable metal teaches us very little, as they may have been acquired purely for ornament or as curiosities. The discovery of a number of coins together in a vessel might be considered merely as evidence that some person had collected them because he was interested in them, or because he desired to trade in them either as ornaments or for the value of the metal. Gold and silver coins might be melted for jewellery, copper for making pots and other useful articles. Coins thus found together might also have been the possession of some Hindu who traded with Rome and hoarded them as treasure. But there seems to be a difference when we have to deal with discoveries such as those of Mr. Scott at Madura. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman *copper* coins, found lying in the ground and in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place. The question is whether or not Romans, or at least persons using Roman coins in daily life, were actually resident at Madura for a time.

That there is no inherent improbability of this being the case seems manifest. The trading ports of South India were well known to the Roman geographers. Madura was the capital city of the Pāṇḍyans. We have a tradition of the immigration into Malabar, about the year A.D. 68, of a body of refugee Jews from Jerusalem. The beryl-mines of Paḍiyūr, which were evidently exploited by Roman merchants, lie only eighty miles or so from Madura, the

country between these places being admirably adapted for travelling. The tradition of St. Thomas having visited Malabar proves that such a visit was looked upon as quite feasible; and the *Acta Thomæ* probably date from a time not later than the fourth century, perhaps as early as the second century A.D. It is certain that the Syrian churches on this coast belong to a very early date, and the Byzantine monk, Kosmas, writing about A.D. 522, mentions the existence of Christian churches "at Male where the pepper grows; and in the town of Kalliena," the latter place being probably Kalliyān, near Bombay. The author of the *Periplus* (about A.D. 80) speaks of Muziris, the nearest port to Madura on the west coast, as "a city at the height of prosperity"; while the Pāṇḍyan and Chera kings were spoken of by Pliny, the latter by name, Madura being mentioned as the Pāṇḍyan capital. Ptolemy, who states that he obtained part of his knowledge from persons who had "resided" in India "a long time,"¹ gives the names of a number of places in the neighbourhood of Madura and the interior of Southern India. The Peutingerian tables, as already mentioned, mark a temple of Augustus as existing at Muziris. And these arguments might be multiplied. It would, indeed, be surprising to the last degree if Roman agents were not resident at the capital city of the territory from which so much merchandize was exported to Rome. These agents may, of course, not have been actually Roman citizens. They may have been Alexandrians, or Syrians using Roman coinage, or even Arabs, and they may perhaps not have resided in the country for a long period—possibly only for a year or two between their voyages. But there is no reason apparent why they should not have been Roman citizens, and why they should not have actually lived at Madura for many years. It was a flourishing city. Life was doubtless

¹ Proleg. i, xvii: παρὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰσπλεύσαντων καὶ χρόνον πλείστον ἐπέλθοντων τοὺς τόπους καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικόμενων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "From those that sailed thither and frequented those places for a long time, and from those who came from thence to us." The latter phrase seems intended to include natives of India visiting Rome.

pleasant. Trade evidently received encouragement from the Hindu rulers. And there were strong reasons why after the first years of the empire many people should have preferred to live anywhere rather than in Rome. Christians, for instance, would surely have welcomed exile to South India during the terrible days of the persecutions. On the analogy of life, too, as we see it, it is difficult to understand what argument could be raised against the suggestion that Roman commercial agents lived in the principal capitals and marts of South India for trade purposes, just as English commercial agents live to-day for trade purposes in the principal cities and marts of China.

But it may be argued that the presence of copper coins could hardly prove the presence of people using them, since the coins may have been imported only for the metal of which they were composed, with the intention that they should be melted and converted into pots and domestic utensils. But, first, there was no need to import copper into India, as it was easily procurable in the country. Balfour's *Cyclopædia* mentions thirty places where copper is found in India, many of these being in the Madras Presidency.¹ Secondly, if coins were collected solely for the metal they would generally be found in one place—the working-place of the copper merchant or artizan—not scattered about the soil of a large town, as at Madura. Thirdly, copper coins would never have been exported in bulk all the way from Rome or Alexandria to India merely for the metal, even if the metal itself had been scarce, accommodation on the vessels being limited. So that it would seem as if the Roman copper coins found at Madura must have been brought to India for daily use in small purchases by residents, whether Europeans or Syrians or Egyptians, using Roman coinage.

¹ Kosmas, writing in the sixth century A.D., states that copper was produced at Kalliane, or Kalyāna (book xi), but this does not appear to be confirmed by Balfour. The South Indian places mentioned in the *Cyclopædia* are Nellore, Ongole, Kālastri, Venkatagiri, and Kurnool. Mr. Bruce Foote adds two places in the Bellary District, and I have been told of copper workings at Guṇṭupāliyam, near Vinukonda in the Kistna District.

And I must here draw attention to another point connected with this subject. Captain (now Colonel) Tufnell, in his *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*,¹ mentions another class of coins as found at Madura, none of which I have myself seen, and which, so far as I know, have not been as yet reported on by any other writer. It will be best for me to quote his own words:—

“These little copper pieces are found in and around Madura, and some years’ hunting has proved to me beyond a doubt that they were at one period in pretty general use in that part. . . . For the following reasons I incline to the opinion that they were struck on the spot and were not importations from Rome.

“In the first place, during a recent visit to Madura and the surrounding villages in quest of specimens, I came across no less than seven of these coins, Roman beyond any doubt, but of a type which appears to me to be totally distinct from that found in Europe. These specimens were scattered over several parcels that I examined, and were not all together in one or two, as is usually the case when a number of issues have been dug up together. Nor was this by any means a solitary instance, for I have rarely paid a coin-hunting visit to these parts without meeting with more or less specimens, and other collectors tell me that their experience has been the same. Moreover, they are not the kind of money that one would expect the rich Roman merchant to bring in payment for the luxuries of the East, but small, insignificant copper coins, scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints The stamp of coin I now refer to occurs, as far as I can learn, in and around Madura *alone*,² and this surely points to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place.”

Later on Captain Tufnell speaks of these little coins as perhaps “struck specially for the purposes of trade with a pauper population.” By daily trade I presume he means daily household purchases, the larger Roman coins being of too high value to be suitable. He continues: “All the coins of this series are well worn, as though they had been

¹ *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1887–8, p. 161.

² I have never heard of them elsewhere.—R. S.

in regular circulation. They are of so small a value as to be what one would expect to find in use when dealing with a people so poor as the early Hindus. They are *constantly* being found, and not occurring as a glut at intermittent periods."

We then have a description of them:—

"On the obverse of all that I have met with appears an emperor's head, but so worn that with one or two exceptions the features are well-nigh obliterated. In one or two specimens a faint trace of an inscription appears running round the obverse, but hitherto I have not come across a single specimen in which more than one or two letters are distinguishable. The reverses vary considerably, but the commonest type seems to bear the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands.¹ Another bears a rectangular figure somewhat resembling a complete form of the design on the reverse of the Buddhist square coins found in the same locality On one specimen the few decipherable letters appear to form part of the name Theodosius, and the style of coin points to the probability of its having been issued during the decline of the Roman Empire, possibly after the capital had been transferred to Constantinople. Another specimen in gold that I have seen, now in the collection of the Rev. James E. Tracey, of Tirumangalam, closely resembles on the reverse an issue in the British Museum of Leo III, who ruled the Eastern Empire at the commencement of the eighth century."

In a footnote he adds—"Finds of similar coins have also been made at Anurādhapura and Colombo recently."

Thus we have two classes of Roman coins of little value found at Madura, scattered and not collected together, viz., the copper issues of the regular Roman coinage, and small copper coins apparently locally minted for daily domestic use; and though as a general rule it may be held that the presence of Roman coins does not necessarily imply the presence of Roman traders, it seems with regard to Madura almost impossible to account for this state of things except

¹ I think that Captain Tufnell was too well-informed to have confused these with the little coins found in South India, probably Chera or of Chera origin, which have devices of Indian figures standing and holding long spears, or bows, in their hands.—R. S.

on the supposition that Roman subjects had taken up their residence here and made the city their home, temporary if not permanent.

On the other hand, I must not omit to notice and give due weight to the suggestion of Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 300) that the Roman money "had already under Vespasian so naturalized itself [in India] that the people there preferred to use it." But he is referring here to gold and silver money, and it seems hardly likely that at the Pāṇḍyan capital copper money would have been minted in imitation of Roman coins when the Pāṇḍyan kings had their own copper money in full circulation—the said imitations bearing, moreover, a design representing the features of a far-away western monarch.

Concluding Remarks.

This is not the occasion for attempting a discussion as to the exact nature and extent of Roman influence in India, but a few points may be noticed.

Mr. Vincent Smith¹ points out that the coins of Kadphises II, the date of whose annexation of North India he places at about A.D. 95, agree exactly in weight with the aurei of the early Roman emperors, i.e. 124 grains, as against the 132 grains of the Attic stater.

Mr. Smith has also treated at length the question of the influence of Rome on the Arts of India. This was of course mostly felt in the north, but it is traceable at Amarāvati.² Mr. Rapson³ confirms Mr. Vincent Smith, and writes: "The head on the Kuṣana copper coins bearing the name of Kozola Kadaphes is directly imitated from the head of Augustus."

The fact that the Gupta coins are also of the same weight as the Roman aurei may be due either to the direct influence

¹ J.R.A.S., January, 1903, p. 34.

² J.A.S.B., 1889, p. 169.

³ *Indian Coins*, §§ 15, 70.

of Rome, or more probably to their merely following the Kuṣana standard already in use.

The use of the Roman word *denarius*, in its form *dinar*, in early inscriptions is well known. It is found in several Sanskrit inscriptions, e.g. at Sāñchi (A.D. 450–1), and in the Kashmirian *Rāja Taraṅgini* in connection with the Hunā king Toramāna (c. A.D. 495); also in several Gupta inscriptions of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta, and perhaps Skandagupta (A.D. 401–c. 480).¹ So that we may assume that, introduced into India as early as the first century A.D., it remained as a word in common use for several hundred years.

In the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vīra-Rāghava in the possession of the Syrian Christians there, the date of which appears very doubtful (Dr. Burnell attributing it to the year A.D. 774, while the present editor assigns it to the fourteenth century A.D.), occurs the following passage, as translated by Mr. V. Venkayya and published in the *Epigraphia Indica* under Dr. Hultzsch's authority²:—"We gave . . . the brokerage on (*articles*) that may be measured with the *para*, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, etc. . . ." In commenting on this passage Mr. W. Logan writes³: "This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Roman jurists: *Quæ pondere, numero mensurâve constant*," and he thinks that perhaps the currency of the phrase at Kuṇḍangalūr⁴ (the Muziris of the Roman geographers) is traceable back to the time of Roman trade with that city. If so, it would go far to show that Roman law was in use in that tract, and the later the date of the grant the more remarkable would be the survival of the phrase.

To sum up my views on the subject of Roman trade with

¹ J.A.S.B. vi, 456. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings: Corpus Ins. Ind.*, iii, pp. 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265.

² *Epig. Ind.*, iv, 290 ff.

³ *Malabar*, i, 269.

⁴ The grant in question, though named after Kōṭṭayam, the place where it is kept, refers to Kuṇḍangalūr, or Cranganore.

India. I have entered on the question because I found myself taking up a standpoint different in some degree from that of previous writers. The difference between us is shortly this: that whereas they have sought in the political condition of India and the adjacent countries, or in the conditions governing the facilities for transport of goods by sea and land between the two countries, for the causes of commercial prosperity and decay during the several periods, I incline to the belief that it is rather to the social condition of Rome itself that we should primarily look for an explanation, the other causes being merely contributory. When the upper classes in Rome gave themselves up to inordinate self-indulgence the demand for Oriental luxuries was great, and the merchants and ship-owners were consequently spurred to the maximum of activity. When life in Rome became simpler and more manly the Oriental trade naturally declined. When life in Rome became almost unbearable owing to internal dissensions and the attacks of the Goths and Vandals its Oriental trade ceased. When the emperors of the east had firmly established themselves at Constantinople, and the social life of that city had passed into a condition of comparative tranquillity, the Oriental trade revived. These reasons, I think, are sufficient in themselves to account for the prevalence of Roman coins in certain parts of India, and their scarcity or absence in others, as well as for the frequency of finds in India of coins of one period as compared with those of another.

Supplementary Note to penultimate paragraph of p. 602.

Mr. J. R. Henderson, Acting Superintendent of the Madras Museum, informs me that, apart from the Museum Collection of Roman Coins, he himself possesses an *aureus* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-180) found at Karuvūr.

ABBREVIATIONS.

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- T.C. = Thurston's "Catalogue of Coins" in the Government Central Museum, Madras, No. 1, 1874; No. 2, 1888. 2nd ed., 1894.
B.My. = Buchanan's "Mysore, Canara, and Malabar." 2nd ed. of 1870. Madras.
M.J.L.S. = Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
As. Res. = Asiatic Researches.
J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
B.C. = Dr. Bidie's "Catalogue of Coins in the Madras Museum."
M.C.C.M. = Madras Christian College Magazine.
Ind. Ant. = The Indian Antiquary.
S.L.M. = Sewell's "Lists of Antiquities, Madras."
Proc. A.S.B. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
G.O. = Government Order.
C.A.S.R. = Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.
W.A.A. = Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua."
T.R.D. = Thurston's "On a Recent Discovery of Roman Coins in Southern India."
Rice, Ind. Mag. = Rice on "Roman Coins near Bangalore," in the Indian Magazine.
J.B.B.R.A.S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Prim. Ess. = Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities.

LISTS OF ROMAN COINS
FOUND IN INDIA.

LISTS OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.
ROMAN COINS FOUND IN NORTHERN INDIA.

DESCRIPTION.	WHERE FOUND.	DATE.	REFERENCE.
Twelve Roman copper coins were found in a box "in Upper India," no further details being given. They were coins of Domitian, Gordian, Gallienus, Salonica his wife, Posthumus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, Tacitus, Probus, Maximian, Constantine, and Theodosius, the latest belonging to the fourth century A.D.	Locality not specified.	?	J.A.S.B. ii (1833), 368.
Seven silver coins were found by Captain A. Court, an officer under General Ventura's command, in one of the Manikyāla Topes, in 1830. They were of the period of the Consulate, none being later than the epoch of the Christian era.	The Manikyāla Tope.	1830.	J.A.S.B. iii (1834), 559, 564, 635. J.R.A.S. xii (N.S.), 264. C.A.S.R. ii, 162. W.A.A., pp. 15, 36. Prin. Ess., i, 148.
Three gold coins of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian's wife, Sabina, were found by Mr. William Simpson in February, 1879, in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelalabad, along with seventeen Kuṣāna coins of Kaplhisēs, Kamishka, and Huviska. They had been placed in the relic-chamber.	The Ahin Posh Tope at Jelalabad.	1879.	Proc. A.S.B. 1879, pp. 78, 134, 208.
"Some years ago a great find of gold coins, containing among others several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bāmaṅghati." No hint is given as to how many Roman coins were found in the hoard, but there were	Bāmaṅghati, S.E. Bengal.	?	C.A.S.R. xiii, 72 (Beglar).

many, and they were gold. Bānaughati is in the Singbhum District, South-East Bengal, between Chabasa and Balasore. It lies on the main road that runs almost due west from the port of Tamluk on the Hāghli.

About 1860 many Roman coins were offered for sale at Bawal Pindi, but no one except the natives knew where they came from, and the information appears to have been concealed.

In 1898 or 1899 there was a find of silver denarii in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb. Only 23 appear to have been recovered, the rest having "got into the hands of the Pindi dealers" (C. J. Rodgers): 5 were family or *gens* coins of the Consulate period, 1 each of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Brutus, 12 of Augustus, 2 of Tiberius, 1 of Hadrian.

The Calcutta Museum contained in 1832 2 gold coins of Arcadius, 5 silver coins of Germanicus (which, is not stated), Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Maximus son of Maximinus (A.D. 236-8); and a number of copper coins, of which 53 are figured in the volume quoted opposite. A number of others were subsequently bought. Unfortunately, though James Prinsep, the author of the article, asserts that the former series were all "of Indian origin," no further details are given, so that the statement cannot well be accepted as basis for argument, and the only safe course is to leave them out of account altogether. It is true that Dr. R. Tyldesley stated that some of the coins were "collected" and "procured" by him at Allahabad, Mirzapur, Bindachal, Kanauj, and Chunar, and I duly record the names; but there is nothing to show that these were found anywhere in the soil of India.

?	e. 1860.	C.A.S.R. ii, 148.
Hazāra District, Panjāb.	1898 or 1899.	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xix, 263.
Not known. Lying in Calcutta Museum in 1832.		J.A.S.B. i (1832), 392, 476.

DESCRIPTION.	WHERE FOUND.	DATE.	REFERENCE.
[Mr. Rapson refers to the passage quoted opposite, which deals with 2 Roman coins found in the Maharajah's Treasury at Rewa, but I note that Dr. Hoernle believes them to be forgeries.]	... ..	...	Proc. A.S.B. 1880, p. 118.
Five Roman gold coins were found in a field at Manikyāla in 1885. They had been strung on a bracelet or necklet, and Dr. Hoernle thinks that the ornament was made about A.D. 200.	Manikyāla.	1885.	Proc. A.S.B. 1886, p. 86.
Mr. Vincent Smith states that 5 gold coins of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo (A.D. 407-474) were found in a <i>stupa</i> .	Hidda, near Jelālābād.	?	J.A.S.B. lviii (1889), 155.
Dr. Vogel reports his purchase at Peshawur of some ancient seals, two of which, according to Mr. Marshall, were Roman. They are said to have come from Naugram.	Naugram, near Peshawur.	Acquired in 1901.	Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Panjab Circle, for 1901-2.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
B.C. 29 — A.D. 14. Augustus.	...	...	...	Pollachi, District.	1800	T.C. ii, p. 7. B.M. ii, 31. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	1	...	...	Karuvūr, District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	"A pot full of Augustus and Tiberius."	coins (metal not stated) of	...	Pollachi, District.	1810	T.C. i, 8 (authority not mentioned).
	...	1	...	In a dolmen in Coimbatore District.	1817	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), p. 294.
	...	135	...	In a pot at Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), p. 294.
Several, amongst a quantity amounting to "five cooly- loads."	...	...	...	Kottayam, ten miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1852), 371- 387.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
Augustus (<i>cont.</i>)	27 recovered out of about 500 found in an earthen pot.	...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1878	T.C. ii, 21. M.C.C.M., October, 1883, p. 219 ff.
...	...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	...	Yeshovampur, near Bangalore, Mysūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
...	...	18)	...	In a pot at Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
...	40	...	...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304, etc.
...	...	1	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
Several; in the Kōttayam hoard of "five cooly-loads."	Kōttayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
2	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District. ¹	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
11	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.

B.C. 38 — A.D. 9.
Drusus the elder.

B.C. 13 — A.D. 23. Drusus the younger.	...	...	...	3	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	5	...	...	...	...	...	Kalliyamputtiūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. R.C. 2. M.J.L.S., n.s., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
Antonia, wife of Drusus.	1	...	...	...	...	...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S., xiii, 214.
3 at least, in the Kottayam hoard.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Kottayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 1; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
...	...	...	...	1, amongst a find of 163.	...	...	Yeshovanthpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	...	...	...	2	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 25. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
Germanicus ...	15	...	...	...	...	...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
	...	...	...	1	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S., xiii, 212.
	8	...	...	...	...	...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.	...	...	...	1	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S., xiii, 212.

¹ Kalliyamputtiūr is close to the Coimbatore District boundary. Sixty-three coins were found in 1856, in a pot in the ground. Forty-nine have been catalogued, and are included in this list. It is not known what became of the remainder.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
Agrippina (<i>cont.</i>) ... A.D. 14-37. Tiberius	1	...	...	Padukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
	...	"A great many" in a pot.	...	Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1800	T.C. i. 1; ii. 7. B.M. ii, 31. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	1	...	...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i. 1; ii. 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	"A pot full of Augustus and Tiberius."	coins (metal not stated)	of	Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1810	T.C. ii, 8 (authority not stated).
...	...	378	...	Vellālūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i. 2; ii. 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
28 at least, in the Kōttayam hoard.	...	...	...	Kōttayam, 10 miles E. of Coimbatore.	1850	T.C. i. 2; ii. 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1852), 371 ff.
...	...	90, recovered out of about 500 found in an earthen pot.	...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1878	T.C. ii, 21. M.C.C.M., October, 1883, p. 219 ff.
6	...	...	...	Kaliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i. 2; ii. 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856), 114; iii (1857), 158.

2	...	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
...	...	...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	...	...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisur.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
...	...	...	329	...	...	Vellalur, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24.
...	...	...	Some (number not stated).	...	...	Sulibandam, Chicacole Taluq, Ganjam District.	1898-99	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
169	...	...	...	...	...	Pudukōta, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304, etc.
...	...	...	1	...	...	Vellalur, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
2 at least, in the Kōttayam hoard.	...	...	...	...	...	Kōttayam, 10 miles E. of Coimbatore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
1	...	...	...	...	...	Kaliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S. x.s., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
...	...	...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	...	...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisur.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
...	...	...	8	...	...	Vellalur, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 25.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
Caligula (<i>cont.</i>) ...	5	...	...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
41-54. T. Claudius (Drus. German.).	2	...	...	Karuvār, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
...	...	5	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
16 at least, in the Kōttayam hoard.	...	...	...	Kōttayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
8	...	...	...	Kaliyamputtiūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
...	...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Masūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
...	...	12	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
94	...	...	...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
Some, in the Kōttayam hoard.	...	...	...	Kōttayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.

Agrippina, wife of Claudius.

54-68. Nero	3	...	...	...	...	...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madurai District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., n.s., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	...	...	2	...	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 26. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	32	...	...	...	...	...	Padukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
	16 at least, in the Kāṭṭayam heard.	...	...	...	...	...	Kāṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
A.D. 69-79. Vespasian.	17	...	...	...	...	...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madurai District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., n.s., ii (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	...	...	2	...	...	...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 26. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	123	...	...	...	...	...	Padukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
	1	...	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., p. 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	3	...	...	...	...	...	Padukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
81-96. Domitian ...	1	...	...	Madura District	?	T.C. ii, 23.
	5	...	...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., n.s., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	1	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., p. 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
96-98. (Cocceius) Nerva.	2	...	...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., n.s., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	A number, in a pot.	...	...	Near Nellore	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.R.R.A.S. i (1843), 294.
98-117. Trajan ...	1	...	...	Athral, Cuddlaph District.	1838	T.C. i, 1; ii, 9. Ind. Ant., ii, 242. J.B.R.R.A.S. i (1843), 294.
	1 in the Nellore hoard.	...	...	Near Nellore	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.R.R.A.S. (1843), 294.
117-138. Hadrian						

138-161. Antoninus Pius.	5	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., 2nd ed., ii, 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	A few	...	...	...	...	Darphul, near Sholapur...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.R.A.S. (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
	1 at least in the Kottayam hoard.	...	...	...	...	Kottayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
Faustina the elder...	3	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., 2nd ed., ii, 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	1 in the Nellore hoard.	...	...	...	...	Near Nellore ...	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.R.A.S. (1843), 294.
	2	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
161-169. Lucius Verus.	A few	...	...	...	...	Darphul, near Sholapur...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
Lucius Verus (<i>cont.</i>) ...	1	...	...	Nagthana, Jabalpur Taluq, Surat.	?	J.B.B.R.A.S. xviii, 38.
161-180. Marcus Aurelius	2	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
180-192. Commodus ...	A few	...	...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
193-211. Septimius Severus.	1	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	Several	...	...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
211-212. Geta ...	1	...	...	Waghode, Sawda Taluq, Khandesh.	?	J.B.B.R.A.S. xviii, 38.
	A few	...	...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.

211-217. Caracalla ...	1	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukonda, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
.			
337-361. Constantius II	1	...	...	...	In Madura District	?	T.C. ii, 23. (Mr. Tracey's collection.)
.			
364. <i>Division of Eastern and Western Empires.</i>		...	...	...
.			
395-408. Arcadius (Em- peror of the East). 395-423. Honorius (Em- peror of the West).	...	...	...	...	A number, in possession of Mr. Scott, Pleader, of Madura.	...	T.C. ii, 23. S.L.M. i, 285, 291.
408-450. Theodosius II (Emperor of the East).	1	...	...	...	Madura District	?	T.C. ii, 23.
	1	...	...	...	Kōttayam, Travancore	1896-7	Private letter from Mr. Thurston. ¹
	1 at least.	...	...	...	Pudankavu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston. ²

¹ Mr. Thurston calls it simply an "aureus (solidus) of Theodosius." I class it under Theodosius II, solely because another coin of that emperor has been found. It may be one of Theodosius I.

² See note 1. As the other aurei found with it are all of later date, I apprehend that this coin was one of Theodosius II.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
450-457. Marcian (Emperor of the East).	1 at least.	...	...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
457-474. Leo (Emperor of the East).	1 at least.	...	...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
474-491. Zeno (Emperor of the East).	One (coin pierced to be worn as an ornament).	...	...	Madura District ...	1839	T.C. i, 1; ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xii, 215. Ind. Ant., ii, 242. J.B.B.R.A.S.i (1843), 294.
476. <i>Western Empire distinguished by Odanecer.</i>	1 at least.	...	...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
491-518. Anastasius (Emperor of the East).	1	...	...	Tirumangalam Taluq, Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 46.
	1 at least.	...	...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
518. Justinus I ...	1 at least.	...	...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.

COINS FOUND IN CEYLON.

RULERS OF ROME.	GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER.	PLACE WHERE FOUND.	DATE OF FINDING.	REFERENCE.
A.D. 41-54. Claudius (?) [The coins were believed to be of Claudius, owing to parts of the legend which were decipherable showing the letter C on obverse, and on reverse R.M.N.R. But Mr. Gruher informs me that he knows of no coin of Claudius with such an inscription.]	(Metal and number of coins not stated.)	of coins not stated.)	stated.)	At or near Mannar, on the N.W. coast.	1574 (?)	De Couto, Dec. v, liv. 1, eh. vii. Vol. ii, pt. i, p. 71. Emerson Tennant's "Ceylon," ii, 539 n.
A.D. 408-450. Theodosius	(One, metal not stated.)	stated.)	...	Found by Mr. Burrows at the Galgè rock, Annadhapura.		Ceylon Arch. Survey, 3rd Progress Report, 1894, p. 5.
395-428. Arcadius... ..	... ..	... ..	2, brass	Abhayagiri	1891	Ceylon Arch. Survey, 4th Progress Report, pp. 4, 13, pl. vii.
"Later emperors"	"In 1884-5 several small coins of the later Roman emperors were unearthed at Milintale, and a few by Mr. Burrows in Annadhapura. Larger finds of these 'thin brass oboli' have been made at Colombo, and at more than one place in the Southern Province," Mr. Bell (the writer) mentions among these last a find of 300 Roman coins.				1884-5	Ceylon Arch. Survey, 4th Progress Report, p. 13. Ceylon Literary Register, vi, 188, pp. 133-5.

OTHER FINDS IN SOUTHERN INDIA WHICH DO NOT ADMIT OF ACCURATE CLASSIFICATION.

DESCRIPTION.	WHERE FOUND.	DATE.	REFERENCE.
Some thousands of silver denarii found in a large pot—"five or six Madras measures." All are believed to have been melted down. (<i>Rev. Henry Little</i> .) A "measure" holds about three pints. Thought to be of Augustus.	Kanuvur, Coimbatore District.	About 1836.	T.C. ii, 20. M.C.C.M., Dec. 1883, p. 338.
A coin (metal not stated) of Theodosius I (A.D. 371-395) found at Māmallapuram, or "The Seven Pagodas," south of Madras, in a year not mentioned, but earlier than 1832. (<i>Prinssep</i> .)	Māmallapuram, south of Madras.	?	T.C. ii, 22. J.A.S.B. 1832, No. 45, i, 406, pl. x.
"Great numbers" found along the Coromandel coast, chiefly <i>aboti</i> (<i>Sir W. Elliot</i>), who mentions amongst them coins of "Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudocia."	Along Coromandel coast.	... ..	T.C. ii, 22. Ind. Ant., ii (1873), 242.
The Rev. J. E. Tracy has coins of Theodosius, and others not satisfactorily identified, found in Madura District.	Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 23.
Two copper coins, Roman but not yet identified, found at Kilakarai, on the Madura coast, by Mr. J. P. James, Port-officer.	Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 23.
A Roman gold coin (not described) is said to have been found by Mr. John Sullivan about the year 1827, when digging the foundations of a house at Ootacamund. It passed to Sir Walter Elliot's collection.	Ootacamund.	c. 1827.	S.L.M. i, 226.

Two Roman coins, one a forgery of Gallienus, the other not described, are mentioned by Dr. Hoernle, but there is no certainty as to where they were originally found.	...	...	...	...	J.A.S.B. lix (1890), pt. 1, 162.
Large numbers of Roman copper coins have been found in scattered places in the town of Madura, and the late Mr. Scott, Pleader, of that place, collected them. They appear to have not yet been classified or catalogued.	Madura town.				
A Roman silver coin was found by Mr. Rea, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, on the site of a Buddhist chaitya discovered by him.	Bezawada, Kistna District.	1887-8.			Madras G.O. Public. No. 437 of April 30, 1888, p. 17.
And a copper one of late date on the sea-coast of Madura.	Kilakarai, Madura District.	1890.			Madras G.O. Public. No. 744 of Nov. 6, 1890, p. 1.
In his Report for 1891-2 Mr. Rea mentions "a find of Roman coins lately made," apparently in the south of the Kistna District, but no further clue is afforded as to the locality.	South of the River Krishna (?).	1891.			Madras G.O. Public. No. 423 of June 18, 1892, p. 5.

With

E. J. Rapson

kind regards

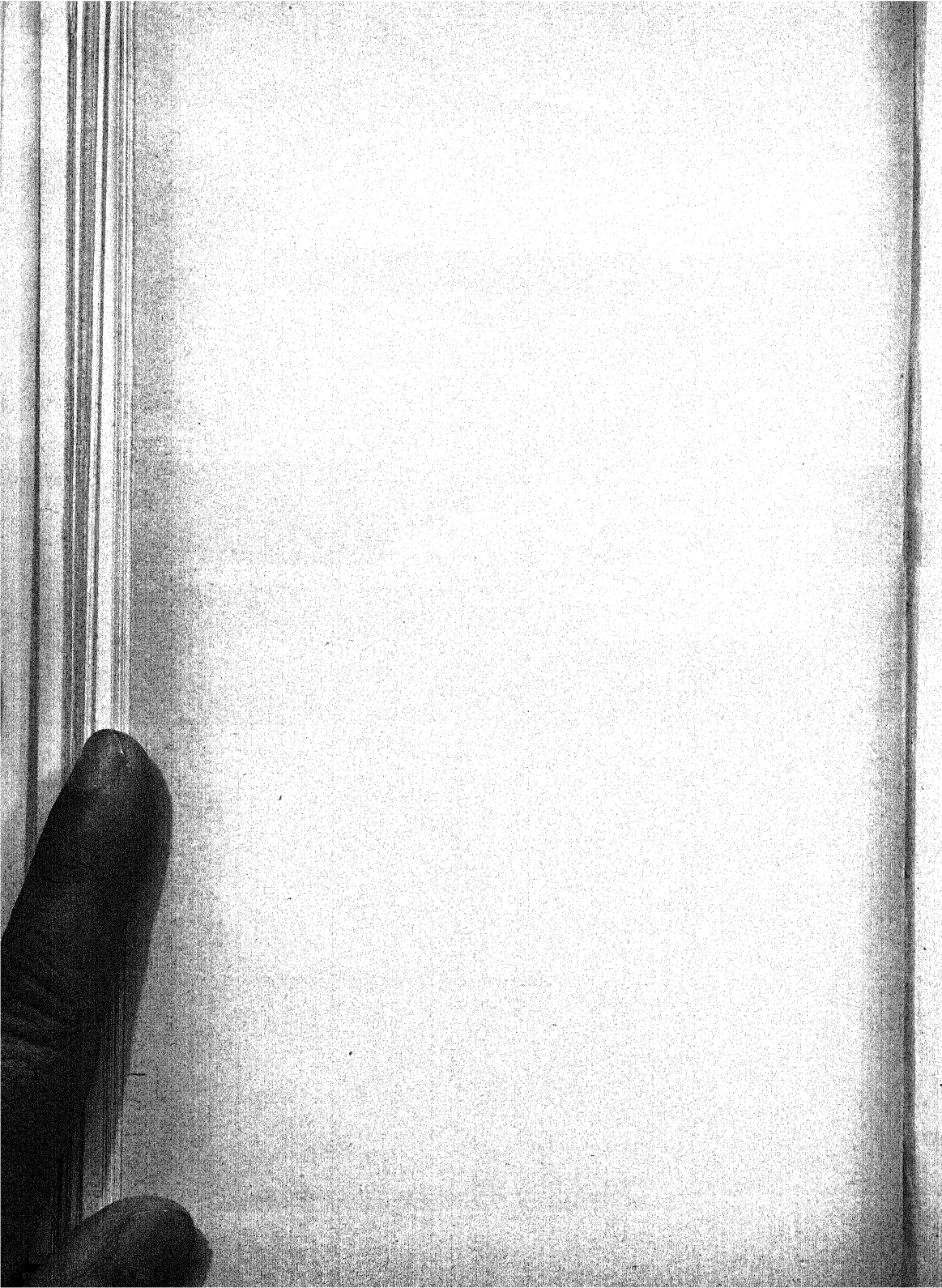
INDIAN COINS AND SEALS.

PART VI.

BY

E. J. RAPSON.

[From the "JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY," October, 1905.]



XXIX.

NOTES ON INDIAN COINS AND SEALS.

PART VI.

By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

TUTELARY DIVINITIES OF INDIAN CITIES ON GRÆCO-INDIAN
COINS.1. *Kapīśa*.

THE square bronze coins of Eucratides which bear on the reverse the image and superscription of the tutelary divinity of a city, instead of some type accompanied by the usual kingly name and titles, are well known and have often been published.¹ The Kharoṣṭhī inscription has been read hitherto as "*Karisiye nagara-devata*"; but this is undoubtedly incorrect. Since the publication of Professor Gardner's Catalogue, the British Museum has acquired specimens of this coinage, by means of which the reading of every letter of the inscription can be determined with certainty.² Of these additions, the best preserved is the coin now described.

Obv. Bust of king r., wearing helmet and diadem; inscr. in Greek characters along the l., the top, and the r. side:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ | ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

¹ Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 225 (No. 21), 235, pl. vii (vi), Nos. 5, 6; von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, p. 299, pl. vi (iii), 4; Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 19 (No. 63), pl. vi, 8.

² From the specimens published by Professor Gardner, it was impossible to be certain of the reading which he gives on the authority of General Cunningham (*loc. cit.*).

These coins, moreover, give us some further information about the history of the city of Kapiśa. It has been already observed that they are often coins of Apollodotus restruck¹; but numismatists seem to have been unwilling to accept the obvious interpretation of this fact, *viz.*, that Eucratides must have succeeded Apollodotus as ruler over the city to which the coins belong. To avoid such a conclusion it has been suggested that these particular coins of Eucratides were struck after his death²; but there seems to be no evidence for this supposition, which is due, no doubt, to the general impression which must be left on the minds of all who study these coins, that, taken altogether, the reign of Apollodotus belongs to a later period than that of Eucratides. It is quite possible, however, that, in whatever way these two princes may have been connected—and in the absence of all satisfactory evidence it is best to abstain from all conjecture in such matters³—their reigns may well have overlapped, and that, for some time at least, Apollodotus was actually superseded in the rule of Kapiśa by Eucratides.

This coin is, further, important since it enables us to test the theory, which General Cunningham supported with great learning and ingenuity, that the monograms on Græco-Indian coins were to be read as the names of mint-cities. This theory has not been generally accepted by numismatists⁴; but it has been as difficult of disproof as of proof, since the resolution of these monograms, which consist of an ingenious arrangement of two or more letters, can only in most cases be tentative, and can never be convincing unless supported by other evidence.



In the present instance, we have both the actual name of the city in the Kharoṣṭhī inscription and a monogram

¹ Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 226; Gardner, B.M. Cat., p. xxxv.

² Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv, 19.

³ It is generally supposed (*v. Smith, Early History of India*, p. 199) that Apollodotus was the son and murderer of Eucratides; but the reasons for this view given by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 241-3) are not absolutely convincing.

⁴ *v. Chabouillet, Rev. Num.*, 1867, p. 393; von Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, p. 200; Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Gk. and Scythic Kings*, p. lv.

 which can scarcely by any ingenuity be resolved into the letters which would go to make up any possible Greek equivalent of that name. Moreover, the coins of Apollodotus which were restruck by Eucratides must surely also have been of the Kapiśa mint, and the monogram which they bear is equally intractable. It is , and can scarcely be read otherwise than as MO.

But, while General Cunningham's theory as to the nature of these monograms seems to break down in the solitary instance in which it can be tested, it must not be hastily assumed that a study and comparison of these monograms can yield no good results, from the point of view of topography or history. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of these monograms, whether they be the marks of moneyers or whether they denote certain issues of the coinage, the occurrence of the same monogram on the coins of different kings certainly raises a presumption that they were closely connected in some manner, either locally or chronologically.

2. *Puṣkalāvati.*


In Professor Gardner's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* there is published a specimen of which, as yet, no satisfactory account has been given. It is classed merely as "Indo-Scythic. Uncertain." (p. 162; pl. xxix, 15); and it differs so much in character from all known Græco-Indian or Indo-Scythic coins that, in describing it in *Indian Coins*, § 37 (1), I hazarded the conjecture that the piece was not a coin, but a reproduction in gold of the designs of two seals or gems. I still think that this conjecture may quite possibly be true. The *provenance* of this specimen, which was acquired from one of the notorious band of fabricators and dealers in false coins at Rawal Pindi, certainly excuses whatever doubt may be entertained as to its genuineness. But, if not genuine



The bull which forms the type of the reverse has, no doubt, a religious significance. On the coins of the Kuṣanas, the bull undoubtedly indicates the prevalence of the worship of Śiva. It is uncertain whether it has the same meaning here.

From the linguistic point of view, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are interesting for two reasons: (1) the use of *d* to represent both *d* and *t* in [*Pa*]khalavadi-devada = Skt. Puṣkalāvati-devatā; and (2) the nom. sg. in -e, [*u*]ṣabhe or [*a*]ṣabhe = Skt. vṛṣabhah.

3. Puṣkalāvati (?).

The identification of another tutelary divinity with the city-goddess of Puṣkalāvati is less certain. The coin on which her figure occurs is one of the Indo-Scythic (Śaka) princes, Azilises.

Obv. King on horseback r.; in front, monogram ; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΙΛΙΣΟΥ (sic).¹

Rev. l., city-goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a diadem in her r. hand; r., Zeus; in l. field, Kharoṣṭhī letter  (*pa*); in r. field, Kharoṣṭhī monogram,  (? *śpi* + *la*); Kharoṣṭhī inscr.: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa | Ayiliṣasa.*

B.M.; Cunningham Coll.

Æ. [Pl. 3.

The only bases for the conjecture that this goddess also may perhaps be the tutelary deity of Puṣkalāvati are, firstly, the general resemblance which she bears to the goddess just described, and, secondly, the Kharoṣṭhī letter *pa*, which may possibly be an abbreviation of *Pakhalavadi*, which is written

¹ A similar mistake in the name does not occur on the smaller coin of the same type published by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 152), and now in the B.M.

in full on the other coin. The explanation of the other Kharoṣṭhī monogram, which seems to be made up by a combination of the *akṣaras śpi* and *la*, is quite uncertain. It may possibly represent the name of another city.

COINS WITH REVERSE-TYPE "SVASTIKA."

1. *Legend in Brāhmī characters.*

Apparently the only specimen of this class hitherto published is the small silver coin belonging to Mr. J. P. Rawlins, which Mr. Vincent Smith assigns to the Saurāṣṭran series, and on which he reads doubtfully the name Arjuna (JASB, 1897, p. 9, pl. i, 14). The resemblance to the Saurāṣṭran series is, however, not sufficiently close to make it necessary to suppose that there was any intimate connection between the two; and the *provenance* of this coin (Jhelam) and of similar specimens since known from the collections of Mr. W. S. Talbot and Mr. M. Longworth Dames, which were made in the same region of India, would seem to indicate that the coins of this class belong to the north of the Punjab.

Through the kindness of Mr. Rawlins I have been able to examine the original coin, and have studied the inscription without being able to agree with Mr. Vincent Smith's proposed reading of the name. I have since seen the two other specimens illustrated in the plate. The former was sent to me by Mr. R. Burn on behalf of Mr. Bleazby in April, 1903. The latter is now represented by casts in the British Museum, but I regret that no note was made of the collection to which it belongs.

Obv. Bust of king r.

Rev. *Svastika*; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (*v. inf.*).

Mr. G. B. Bleazby.

Æ 5; Wt. 28. [Pl. 4.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar; inscr., apparently in Brāhmī characters, illegible.

[Pl. 5.

The following are eye-copies of this inscription :—

(1) [- -] 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮 [𑀘𑀓𑀭 —] (Pl. 6).

(2) [𑀘𑀓] 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮 [𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮𑀭𑀮] (Pl. 7).

It will be seen that the name of the striker of these coins is doubtful. It certainly ended in *-na*; and if, as suggested above, we may restore the two preceding syllables of his name as *-puṭha*, we have a form which strikingly reminds us of *Caṣṭana*.¹ His title, whether that of king or *kṣatrapa*, is quite uncertain. All that we can say, with absolute certainty, is that he was the son of Bagapharna. This name is undoubtedly Persian; and its latter portion is the same as that of the Indo-Parthian king, who is more generally known by the Greek form of his name as Gondophares.² We may, therefore, conclude that these coins belong to some family of Persian or Parthian (*Pahlava*) princes or satraps ruling in the Northern Punjab, probably in the Jhelam District, in about the first century A.D.

Of a bronze coinage having as its chief type on the reverse a *svastika* together with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, only one specimen is known to me.

Obv. Man standing.

Rev. *Svastika*; inscr. in Kharoṣṭhī characters not legible.

B.M.; Major Hay, 60: 12-20: 553.

Æ 8. [Pl. 8.

This coin was purchased in 1860 by the British Museum, together with a great number of others, which seem mostly, but by no means exclusively, to have been collected in the north of India and in Afghanistan. The inscriptions, unfortunately, cannot be read; but its fragmentary letters, and those also of some of the badly preserved silver coins

¹ Possibly the resemblance which Mr. Vincent Smith saw between these coins and the Saurāṣṭran coins may be explained as due to their common origin.

² Drouin, *Onomastique Arsacide*, Rev. Num., 1895, p. 370; Fleet, JRAS, 1905, p. 228.

surely be a compound, made on the Indian model, APTA + ΥΟΥ = the Kharoṣṭhī *Arṭasa putrasa*. The form *ύός* = *υίός* is well known at this period,¹ and is actually found on a Parthian coin of Gotarzes (A.D. 40–51).² The name *Arṭa* may possibly be that with which we are familiar as the first portion of the Parthian names *Artabanus* and *Artavasdes*.³

A comparison of all the available specimens makes it possible to restore the Kharosthī inscription with certainty as

የጊዜ ምዕራፍ የገጽ ፩ ስም

(= *Chatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa*).

The only important variant appears on a coin in the British Museum (Hay, 60: 12-20: 169) where the name of the father is given as *Ortasā* (gen. sing.) = **𐎠𐎼𐎲𐎠**.

The first letter *cha* appears quite distinctly not only on this coin, but also on one in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge which was sent to me for examination by the Rev. W. G. Searle.

The reading of the group *-r̥ta-* (with the lingual *t*) seems to be correct.

The difficulty of interpreting this coin-legend lies in the syllable *pra*, which is seen quite distinctly before the name *Kharaosta*, but which was not noticed by Cunningham. It occurred to me at one time that the letter might be a *ka*,⁴ and that *Kakha-* might possibly be intended to be read as *Kkha*, and to represent some hard aspirated guttural for

¹ It occurs, for example, in an inscription of Lucius Caesar (died A.D. 2) at Athens, Boeckh, CIG. No. 312.

² ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΟΥ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ, *Wroth*, B.M. Cat., *Parthia*,
p. 165, pl. xxvii, 2, and *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 95; cf. Gardner, *The*
Parthian Coinage, p. 49, pl. v, 25.

³ For the readings of these v. Drouin, *Onomastique Arsacide*, in *Rev. Num.*, 1895, pp. 367, 368.

⁴ On referring to the volume containing the Pandit's manuscript notes now in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, I found that he had already suggested this reading. This volume of notes, from which I could only give selections in the two articles edited by me in JRAS, 1890, p. 639, and 1894, p. 541, should be consulted by scholars interested in the history of ancient India.

which there was no adequate equivalent in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. But the syllable seems to be undoubtedly *pra*, not *ka*, and I am quite unable to make any useful conjecture as to its meaning.

Both Cunningham and Bhagvānlāl had identified the striker of these coins with the Kharaosta of the Mathura Lion-Capital; but this identification was not accepted by Bühler, and it seems not to have been reasserted by any other scholar up to the present time.

Bühler seems to have found two difficulties in the proposed identification. In the first place, he doubted whether the name on the coins as given by Cunningham (*l.c.*)—Kharamostis (Greek, *Charamōstei*; Kharoṣṭhī, *Khara[m]osta* (p. 127), *Kharamasta* (p. 170))—could possibly be the same as the *Kharaosta* of the Lion-Capital. This objection now disappears when it is seen that the name appears in precisely the same form, *Kharaosta*, both in the Kharoṣṭhī coin-legend and on the Lion-Capital.

If the matter ended here, we should surely have no hesitation in accepting the identification as extremely probable, if not quite certain. But Bühler's second objection is more serious, and it raises a problem of which I see at present no perfectly satisfactory explanation. He points out that according to the Lion-Capital Kharaosta is the son of Rajula, but that according to the coins Kharamosta (now shown to be certainly another form of Kharaosta) is the son of Arta. "It would, therefore, appear," he says, "that they are two different persons, even if their names should be identical."¹

Although no certain explanation of this difficulty presents itself, it may be useful, in view of some future examination of this question, to set forth the facts of the case as they appear at present, bearing in mind that it is quite possible that another edition of the inscriptions on the Lion-Capital may materially alter our views as to the genealogies which it records.

¹ JRAS, 1894, p. 532.

Even in Bühler's own version it is nowhere definitely stated that the *yuvarāja* Kharaosta was the son of the Great Satrap Rajula. In inscr. A i, Nadasi Kasa, the chief queen of Rajula, is called his mother, and the presumption is, of course, that Rajula was his father; but it need scarcely be pointed out that this does not necessarily follow. It is certainly possible, if not probable, that Nadasi Kasa may have been previously married. Moreover, the sons of Rajula seem to be mentioned in inscrs. B, C, and D as Śuḍasa, the reigning Satrap, Kalui, a younger, and Naüludo, the youngest son. If Kharaosta was the son of Rajula, we might surely expect to find him mentioned together with these; but as a matter of fact he seems to be in no way associated with them. The difficulty as to his position, however, disappears altogether if we may accept the arrangement proposed by Bhagvānlāl,¹ who makes the donor of the stūpa, *Nandaśriyakā* (= Bühler's *Nadasi Kasa*), the daughter of the chief queen of Rajula. According to Bhagvānlāl, there is no mention on the Lion-Capital of the husband of this lady, and he finds no difficulty, therefore, in supposing him to have been the Arta of the coins.

Whether we may accept Bhagvānlāl's version in preference to Bühler's is a point which can only be determined by a more careful investigation of the inscriptions on the Lion-Capital than can be attempted here. Enough has been said to show that the identification, which appears in every other respect as probable, of the Kharaosta of the inscriptions with the Kharaosta or Kharamosta of the coins, must not be hastily rejected on the supposed evidence of the inscriptions.²

The Kharoṣṭhī syllable *saṃ* which appears on this specimen on the obverse in front of the horse, occurs on other coins of Kharamosta above the lion, preceded by the Kharoṣṭhī monogram, for which the reading *kha + ro* has been suggested above. The meaning of this monogram,

¹ JRAS, 1894, p. 546.

² Bühler is certainly right in declining to accept further identifications proposed by Cunningham and Bhagvānlāl, v. *Indian Coins*, § 79.

as of others on coins of this class, is quite uncertain. The *saṃ* may possibly, as Mr. Fleet has already suggested,¹ be the abbreviation for *saṃvat*, 'year,' and the X in front of the lion on the reverse might, so far as the form goes, be the Kharoṣṭhī numeral 4. This is, however, rendered the more doubtful by the fact that the same figure is found in the same position on all coins of Kharamosta, and that on some, as on the present specimen, the supposed abbreviation for 'year' appears on one side of the coin and the supposed figure 4 on the other. This is, to say the least, not a very probable arrangement.

ATHAMA.

Obv. King on horseback, as on the coins of Kharamosta (*v. sup.* No. 9); Greek inscription:—

[—]CΙΑ[E — — —

Rev. Monogram made up of the Greek letters M and P;

Kharoṣṭhī inscr.: *ma sa.*
ṭha a.

Mr. Bleazby.

N 4; *Wt.* 3.4. [PL. 10.

This most interesting coin, which was sent to me by Mr. Bleazby for examination, is, so far as I know, unique of its kind. It is struck in very thin gold, and seems without doubt to belong to the general class of Indo-Scythic coins to which the title Śaka has rightly or wrongly been applied.

The obverse type "king on horseback" occurs on the coins of Azes, Azilises, Vonones, and others, who are called kings, and also, as we have seen, on the coins of Kharamosta, who is called a satrap. The monogram which takes the place of a reverse-type on this coin also occurs, in association with a type, on coins of Azes and Azilises. We can have no hesitation, therefore, in recognising in this Athama a member of the same dynasty.

¹ JRAS, 1905, p. 229.

The name Aṭhama is most probably Scythic or Parthian; but it may, of course, be Prakrit *Aṭṭhama* = Skt. *Aṣṭama*, 'Octavus.' It occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya; *e.g.* as the name of a letter-carrier mentioned in the fragment of a leather document, N. xv, 336, not yet published.

ĀNDHRA.

GAUTAMĪPUTRA ŚRĪ-YAJÑA-ŚĀTAKARṆĪ (*Indian Coins*, § 87).

The three specimens now illustrated are apparently the only ones known of what may be called the Saurāṣṭran type of the coinage of the Āndhra Dynasty. One of these has frequently been published, and on its supposed evidence there has been made an assumption which has influenced nearly every attempt to reconstruct the genealogical table of this dynasty. An examination of this coin—or rather of electrotypes taken from it—and of the other two now published, has convinced me that Mr. Vincent Smith was right in doubting the generally accepted reading,¹ and that the assumption which is founded on it must, therefore, be abandoned.

The coin in question was discovered by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in the *stūpa* at Sopara near Bombay.² It bears inscriptions both on obverse and reverse. As to the former of these there is no question. It simply indicates that the coin is of the prince whose name, in its Sanskrit form, is Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi, and who bears the metronymic Gautamīputra, "the son of Gautamī." The reverse inscription is not so easy, owing to the fact that at one part the letters are almost lost. It is even now not possible to restore the whole inscription with certainty. All that we can do is to ascertain its true character and to examine the feasibility of such readings as have been proposed.

¹ ZDMG, 1903, p. 622.

² *Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padārā*, JBBRAS, xv, p. 273.

The Pandit (*op. cit.*, p. 306) read the characters which compose this reverse inscription as चतरपनस गतमिपुतकुमार यजसातकनि = Prince Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Caturapana and Gautamī, ingeniously suggesting that this addition of the father's name to the usual Āndhra metronymic was due to the regular custom observed on their coins by the Kṣatrapa dynasty. He was confirmed in his proposed reading of the father's name on the coin as Caturapana by his own reading of a title *Catarapana* or *Cataraphana* in an inscription at Nanaghat dated in the thirteenth year of a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi.¹ Putting together the supposed evidence of coin and inscription, the Pandit imagined that he had ascertained an important fact in the genealogy of the Āndhra dynasty, viz., that a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caturapana Śātakarṇi was the father of Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi; and this view has since been generally accepted.²

When we come to examine the coins it will be seen that there are no certain or even probable traces of such a word as *Caturapana*. With regard to the *Catarapana* or *Cataraphana* of the inscription at Nanaghat, it is, in the first place, unfortunate that we have no photograph or facsimile by means of which the Pandit's reading can be controlled. In the second place, supposing that the reading is correct, should we not rather see in this form ending in *-ana* (probably = *āna*) a genitive plural, such as occurs elsewhere in a similar position, either of the name of some people over whom the king ruled, or denoting the particular family of the dynasty to which he belonged? A good instance of this use is supplied by the inscription of Māḍharīputa Purisadata in the Jaggayapeta Stūpa;³ cf. also such an expression as *Okhalakiyānam Mahārathi* in the Karle inscr. No. 20.⁴ It will be seen, therefore, that it is by no means certain that *Catarapana* or *phana* is the name of the king in whose inscription it occurs.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

² For instance, by Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 272.

³ ASSI, i, p. 110, *Raño Māḍharīputasa Ikhākhuṇṇaṇṇa Siri-Vira-Purisadatasā*.

⁴ ASWI, iv, p. 107, pl. liv; cf. JRAS, 1903, pp. 299, 300.

The general description of the three coins here illustrated is as follows :—

- (1) *Obv.* Bust of king r.; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii)¹:—

सिरियञसातकणसरजो गोतमपुतस

Rev. 1, Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent; r., *Caitya* surmounted by crescent; between them, a star; beneath them, a waved line; inscr. written continuously all around the coin (*v. sup.*).

B.M.; Electrotype from General Pearse; [Bhagvānlāl, *loc. cit.*; Elliot, CSI, p. 25]. [Pl. 11.]

- (2) *Obv.* Similar; inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii):—

सिरियञसातकणसरजो गोतमपु[तस]

Rev. Similar, but double-struck; inscr. (*v. inf.*).

Colonel J. Biddulph. AR 65; Wt. 29.5. [Pl. 12.]

- (3) *Obv.* Similar: inscr. in Brāhmī characters (vii):—

स्रयञसातकणसर[जो -]मपुतस

Rev. Similar; inscr. (*v. inf.*).

B.M.; Bhagvānlāl [*loc. cit.*]. AR 6; Wt. 24.5. [Pl. 13.]

Of the obverse legend, every letter and almost every vowel-mark is absolutely certain :—

हे॒र॑उ॒रु॒स॒त॒क॒ण॒स॒र॒जो॒ गो॒त॒म॒पु॒त॒स॒

(= *Siri Yaña Sātakaṇṣa Raño Gotamiputasa*³).

In studying the reverse legend, the most important point to notice is that the letters are not in exactly the same character as those of the obverse legend. It is reasonable

¹ These Roman numerals refer to the clock-face, and indicate the point in the circle at which an inscription begins.

² I use this sign—a reversed *virāma*—to denote that a vowel sign cannot be seen, although it may possibly have been intended.

³ The inscription should, however, properly begin with *Raño*. This is the order which is, no doubt, intended. The above order has been adopted because of the break in the legend made by the truncation of the bust.

The reverse equivalent to the obverse *Siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇṣa* may, therefore, be *Hiru-Yaña-Hātaka[ṇṣa]*.

There is only one further difficulty in the reverse representation of *Gotamīputasa*—the character **𑀧**, which should be = *mī*. With this we may compare the form of *ma*, **𑀓**, which occurs in Ceylon in about the first century B.C.¹ The *akṣara* seems undoubtedly to contain an *m*, but whether it included a vowel sign or not, it is impossible to say. We may say, then, that *obv.* *Gotamīputasa* = *rev.* *Gotam(a)-putaṣa*.

There remains now only the *obv.* *Raño* and its *rev.* equivalent, which, as we have seen, must have consisted of some six syllables. All that we can say of this form is that it was a genitive singular ending in *-naṣa*, as might be expected. It is hopeless to attempt any restoration of the preceding syllables, probably four in number; but of one thing we may be quite certain, they cannot, from the remaining traces, be restored as *Caturapa* with the least certainty.

We shall probably be right in recognising in this second alphabet a South Indian form of Brāhmī which prevailed in the region which was the original home of the Āndhras, *Āndhradeśa*, the Telugu country. On the Saurāṣṭran coins it is, in fact, what Kharoṣṭhī is on the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, an exotic, not an indigenous alphabet.

TRAIKŪṬAKA.

DAHRASENA, SON OF INDRADATTA (date in copper-plate, year 207 of the so-called Kalacuri or Cedi era = A.D. 456).

Obv. Bust of king r.

¹ Cf. Wickremasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, part i, p. 13.

Rev. Caitya ; star of dots above on r. ; inscr. (iii) :—

महरजन्द्रत्तपुत्रपरमवष्णवश्महरजदहसन

(= *Mahārāji-Endradattaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja-Dahrasena*).

B.M. ; Bird (1854).

·55 ; Wt. 28·2. [Pl. 14.

15. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Caitya ; beneath, waved line ; star of dots above on l. ; inscr. (xii) :—

[- - र - द्र - त्तपुत्र - र -] वष्णवमहरज[अदह - -]

(= [- - *rā-ndra-ttaputra-ra-*] *Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja [Sri-Da - - -]*).

B.M. ; Bhagvānlāl.

·5 ; Wt. 22·7. [Pl. 15.

These coin-legends have supplied one of the most familiar puzzles in Indian numismatics. Their constituent characters are in themselves so corrupt in some cases as to admit of the possibility of a variety of readings. Their decipherment must, therefore, manifestly depend to some extent on external evidence, such as the analogy of other coin-legends of about the same time and locality, and also perhaps, to some extent, on conjecture. The reading now generally accepted is that which was proposed first by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in the *Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Congress* (Vienna, 1886 : Aryan Section, p. 222), viz. :—

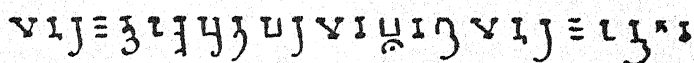
Mahārājendravarmanaputra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Rudragana.

For *-varmma-* the Pandit suggests as possible variants *-danna-* or *-datta-*. There can be no doubt that the latter is correct. The *-tta-* is seen quite clearly on the coin which is figured as No. 14 in the plate, and it is almost certainly to be restored in the case of No. 15.

Apart from this, the only correction which I propose is to read the king's name as Dahrasena, the reading of every syllable of which can, I think, be fully justified. I may

say that I have had the advantage of examining a very large number of these coins in the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha, some of which have recently been acquired by the British Museum, and that other well-known collectors of Indian coins, such as Colonel Biddulph, Colonel Shepherd, Mr. L. White King, and Mr. W. Theobald, have kindly permitted me to have casts made from specimens in their possession.

The form in which the legend most commonly occurs is somewhat as follows:—



On comparing Bhagvānlāl's reading *Rudragana* with the last four syllables of this facsimile,¹ it may be observed that:—

(1) The first of the four syllables in question is certainly not *ru*. It is the same as the character which appears in the sixth place from the beginning, and which the Pandit read as *va* or possibly *da*. That it is not *va* seems certain from a comparison with the two *va*'s (thirteenth and fifteenth from the beginning) which are seen in the representation of the word *Vaiṣṇava*. It must unquestionably be read as *da*.

(2) The second may well be *hra*, i.e. the character which appears in the second and eighteenth places from the beginning with the addition of the regular subscript *-ra*.

(3) The third constitutes the real difficulty, and certainly seems more like *ga* than anything else. But it must be remembered that, in any case, it is probably a broken-down letter. The die-cutter has allowed the lower part of the previous syllable to deprive it of some of the space which should have been given to it. From what may be called the normal specimens of this coinage, it would have been impossible to do more than guess at the value of this *akṣara*; but, fortunately, there are varieties in which the *sa* (= *se*) in this place is quite distinct (*v. inf.*).

¹ The Pandit himself gives a facsimile (*l.c.*) which may equally be referred to in illustration of these remarks.

and the copper-plate is dated in the year 207 of an era, beginning in A.D. 248 or 249, to which the name Kalacuri or Cedi era is usually given, and the establishment of which Pandit Bhagvānlāl attributed to the Traikūṭaka Dynasty.¹ It will not be necessary here to discuss the question of the origin of this era, the evidence available for the determination of which has recently been set forth in this Journal by Mr. Fleet with his wonted clearness and precision.² All that we need attempt to do here is to show, first, that the coins, the copper-plate, and, originally, the era in which it is dated, all belong to the same region; and, secondly, that the coins and the copper-plate must be of about the same date.

Mr. Fleet (*op. cit.*, p. 567) points out that "all the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and the Thāṇa District in Bombay." The coins, also, certainly come from this region, for the largest recorded hoard of which I know is the one of some 500 specimens mentioned by Bhagvānlāl as having been discovered at Daman in South Gujarat³; and the specimens in the collections referred to above (p. 803) may well have come from the same districts, or nearly adjacent districts, of the Bombay Presidency. The only doubt is whether the area of the circulation of these coins may not have been far more extensive; but this question cannot be settled until far more accurate accounts of the *provenance* of these coins are available than is at present the case. The specimen published by Mr. Justice Newton (JBBRAS, 1862, p. 11, pl. 13)—the first recorded specimen of this series—was found "near Karād in the Satara District."

The region in question was certainly under the dominion of the Kṣaharāta Nahapāna (known dates 41–46 Śaka = 119–124 A.D.).⁴ After his defeat it passed into the hands

¹ *Trans. VII Or. Cong.*: Aryan Section, p. 220.

² JRAS, 1905, p. 566.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 58.

⁴ *Inscr. of Uṣavadāta*, Nasik, ASWI, iv, p. 99, pl. lii, 5.

of his conqueror, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi¹; but was again wrested from the Āndhra Dynasty by the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in or before the year 72 Śaka = 150 A.D.² How far it continued to form a portion of the empire of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty from this date until the end of the dynasty (c. 310 Śaka = 388 A.D.) cannot be determined with much precision, though, as will be seen below, we have some important facts bearing on its history during this period. The point which more immediately concerns us is that this region was certainly for some length of time included in the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas, and that, therefore, we are fully prepared to find that their characteristic type of coinage—*obv.*, King's head to r.; *rev.*, *Caitya* with inscr.—was established there.

Now the coins in question are precisely of this type; and their rough fabric and the debased character of their inscriptions proclaim their late date. They would, on such evidence alone, be assigned by numismatists to the period after the downfall of the Western Kṣatrapas, *i.e.* to some period after A.D. 388. The coins now attributed to Dahrasena record the name of his father, Indradatta, who was king before him. If, then, we may suppose that the independence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty dates from the downfall of the Western Kṣatrapas, the coins of Dahrasena, who had at least one predecessor on the throne, may well be of the same period as his copper-plate, which is dated in a year equivalent to A.D. 456.

VYĀGHRASENA, SON OF DAHRASENA.

Obv. Bust of king r.

Rev. *Caitya*; star of dots above on r.; inscr. (xii):—

महरजदहसनपुत्रपरमवष्णवश्चमहरजव्यघ्रसन

(= *Mahārāja Dahrasenaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī-Mahārāja Vyāghrasena*).

B.M.; Da Cunha.

·5; Wt. 32. [Pl. 16.

¹ Inscr. of Puṣumāyi, Nasik, *ibid.*, p. 108, pl. lii, 14.

² Junāgaḍh inscr. of Rudradāman, Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 36.

The Greek translation illustrates the difficulty of representing the Indian -*ā* by any Greek letter. It is more commonly transliterated by *o*: e.g. *Kumāra* = KOMAPO, *Kuṣana* = KOḌANO, etc.

The name, the genitive singular of which appears in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī as *Baliāsa*, is, of course, equivalent to *Balika*. With reference to this exceedingly common formation of proper names with the suffix -*ka*, it is interesting to observe that it has been extended by analogy to the Indian equivalents of Greek names. For instance, the Greek ΛΥΣΙΟΥ = *Lisikasa* as well as *Lisiasa*.¹

The seal presumably comes from the Jehlam District, where Mr. Talbot's collection was made; but I have no more exact information of its *provenance*. We may be certain that it belonged originally to a region and to a period in which the three alphabets were used concurrently. Inscriptions engraved in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī characters come from the Kangra Valley²; while the coins which bear legends in the two alphabets are those of the Udumbaras (Pathankot),³ the Kunindas (the hill districts, on both sides of the Satlej, occupied by the Kunets of the present day),⁴ and the Kulūtas (Kullu Valley).⁵ As has been noticed above (p. 809), the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana have inscriptions in all three characters—Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, and Greek; but in this case the Kharoṣṭhī, like the Greek, is evidently a foreign importation bearing witness to the Northern origin of these rulers, for its importance on their coins diminishes during their reigns, and subsequently it entirely disappears. The region in which both the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī scripts were at home may be

¹ Gardner, B.M. Cat.: *Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 29. The form *Lisiasa* is noted as occurring on Nos. 7 and 14. An examination of the coins and a comparison with other specimens in silver and copper acquired by the Museum since the publication of the catalogue convince me that the same reading is to be restored on Nos. 4 and 8, and indeed that it is the regular reading of all coins of Lysias which bear the same monogram.

² Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 116.

³ Cunningham, CAI, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70, pl. iv, 14 (the reading corrected in JRAS, 1900, p. 429).

fairly identified with the Jalandhar District of the Punjab. Both alphabets were naturally understood in the district which lay between the regions in which they respectively prevailed.

The Greek inscription affords some indication of the period to which it belongs. The lunate *sigma*, C, only begins to be at all common in the Greek world at the end of the first century B.C.¹ In India it occurs on the coins of Strato II, Philopator, and on the type of Rañjabala which is copied from them; and it is the regular form on the coins of the Kuşana prince whose name is written as Kadaphes, and on those of Vīma-Kadphises,² Kaniška, and Vāsudeva. Since both the lunate form and the square form, C, occur on different classes of coins bearing the names of two Indo-Parthian kings, Gondophares and Abdagases, as also on the coins of the mysterious *Basileus Sōtēr Megas*, it would seem that they were in use at the same time, and that the distinction between them is one of locality. In the case of Gondophares, I have pointed out that the rounded forms are associated with legends in correct Greek, but the square forms with legends in corrupt Greek.³ Our seal must have belonged to a district in which the Greek alphabet was understood, possibly—although this is a point which cannot be settled without much closer investigation than I can pretend to have made—to the district to which the class of coins having correct Greek legends and rounded letters also belongs.⁴

With reference to this concurrent use on Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythic coinages of two distinct forms of the Greek alphabet, the square and the rounded, it is impossible to insist too strongly on the fact that, until some classification of

¹ Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, p. 207.

² I have recently shown in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Algiers, which will be published in due course in the *Transactions* of the Congress, that the initial consonant in this name is a form of *v* which I propose, for the present, to represent as *v'* (cf. B.M. Cat., pl. xxv, 6, and Professor Gardner's note on p. 124).

³ JRAS, 1903, p. 285.

⁴ For the statements here made as to the inscriptions on coins, cf. the plates in B.M. Cat.

these coinages according to the locality in which they were struck is possible, no real progress in these branches of the numismatics of ancient India can be made. At present, the utmost confusion is introduced into the subject by the tacit assumption on the part of numismatists that the different types, and the different alphabets which appear on the coins, are in some sort of chronological sequence. The chief point to be remembered in any attempt to make a satisfactory arrangement of all Indian coinages is that not only different kingdoms, but also different mints of the same kingdom, are, as the whole history of numismatics abundantly proves, intensely conservative in regard to types and epigraphy. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these different series should be studied, from the chronological point of view, separately and without any confusion with each other.

One fact seems beyond question. The square forms of the Greek alphabet must surely owe their introduction into India to the Parthian influence which was so strong in, approximately, the first century A.D. A useful account of these square forms as they appear on Parthian coins has already been given by Professor Gardner,¹ and fuller materials are now supplied by Mr. Wroth's B.M. Catalogue, *Coins of Parthia*, in which all the forms are carefully noted, together with the dates of the reigns in which they appear. We may reasonably suppose that the occurrence of square Greek forms on an Indian coin denotes that it belongs, locally, to the sphere of Parthian influence. The period of this influence is fairly certain. For a determination of its local extent we must, at present, depend chiefly on a study of the types, assisted by such evidence as we possess as to the *provenance* of the coins.

Another indication of the date of the seal is, perhaps, supplied by the *alpha*, which occurs not less than six times in this patronymic of fourteen letters. On comparing the coin-legends of all the Kuṣānas, it will be seen that the rounded form, α, is characteristic of those of Huviṣka and

¹ B.M. Cat., *Gk. and Scythic Kings*, Introd., p. xlv.

Vāsudeva. A few occurrences may be noted on the coins of Kanīṣka; but, in general, he, in common with his predecessors, uses the angular form \triangledown .

To sum up the results of our enquiry, we may with a fair degree of assurance attribute the seal to the northern part of the Punjab and to that portion of the Kuṣana period which is covered by the reigns of Huviṣka, *i.e.* about A.D. 110–180 according to the theory which regards Kanīṣka as the founder of the Śaka era in 78 A.D., or about A.D. 150–220 according to the view of Mr. Vincent Smith, who supposes that Kanīṣka came to the throne in *c.* 125 A.D.

SEAL OF JANIKA.

A winged male figure *r.*, holding cornucopiæ in *l.* and wreath in *r.* hand; Kharoṣṭhī inscr. :—

r. (upwards)  *Janiasa.*

Colonel Deane.

Oval, .7 by .6. [Pl. 21.]

The seal from which the impression photographed is taken is a carnelian, which was recently sent to me by Dr. Stein on behalf of Colonel Deane, together with other stone seals, some of which I shall hope to publish in a future instalment of these notes. The figure is no doubt the Greek Erōs, but it seems to be treated in a manner, and accompanied with a combination of attributes, which are Indian rather than classical Greek.

SEAL OF SAṄGHARAKṢITA, SON OF BUDDHATRĀTA.

- (1) बुद्धचातपुत्र *Buddhatrātaputra-*
 (2) स्वसघरक्षितस्य *-sya Sagharakṣitasya.*

Oblong, .85 by .55. [Pl. 22.]

The photograph in the plate was taken from a plaster cast of an impression in shellac, which I owe to the kindness

of Colonel J. Biddulph, to whom it was sent from Udaipur. As to the nature of the original seal I have no information. The inscription, which is in Sanskrit, seems to belong to the early period of the dominion of the Western Kṣatrapas, c. 150 A.D.

SEAL OF GUPTA.

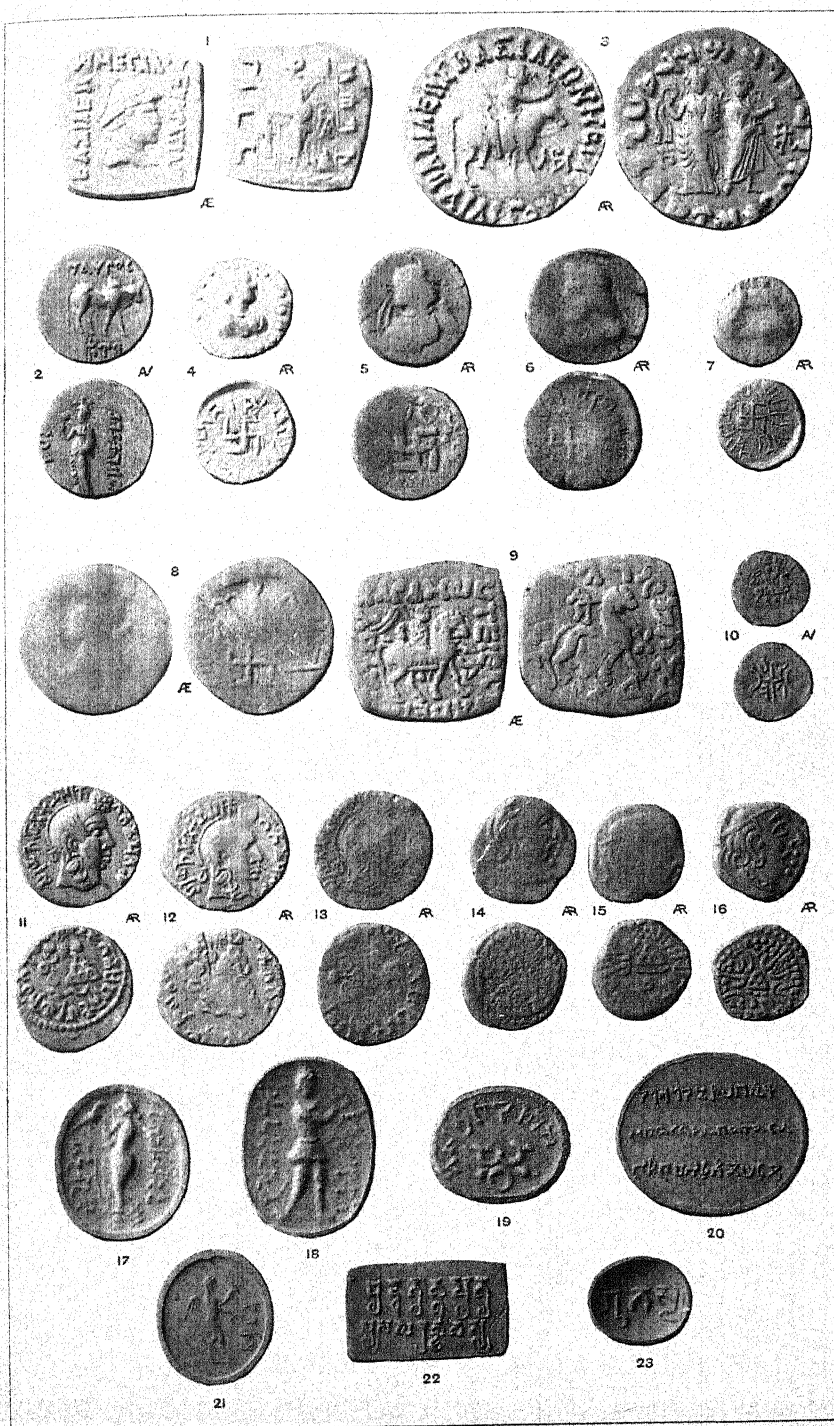
गुप्तस्य

Gutasya.

B.M.; Mr. W. S. Talbot.

Oval, .5 by .4. [Pl. 23.

Gutasya (i.e. *Guttasya*) = Skt. *Guptasya* is an example of a kind, which is sufficiently common, showing an admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit forms. That is to say, it is due to a confusion between the popular dialect and the established literary language, which was gradually taking the place of the local dialects, as has happened in our own country and as regularly happens in the linguistic history of every country. The seal, which is of carnelian, was presented to the British Museum in 1903 by Mr. W. S. Talbot. This instance definitely proves that *Gupta* may be used by itself as a name, and that, therefore, Mr. Fleet was right in maintaining that the name of the founder of the Gupta Dynasty was Gupta simply, and not Śrī-Gupta, "protected by Lakṣmī" as General Cunningham held. (For a similar case v. JRAS, 1901, p. 108.)



THE SANSKRIT *PRATOLI*

AND ITS

NEW-INDIAN DERIVATES.

BY

J. PH. VOGEL, Litt.D.

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XIX.

THE SANSKRIT *PRATOLI* AND ITS NEW-INDIAN DERIVATES.

By J. PH. VOGEL, Litt.D.

SOME three years ago, I published a note on the above-mentioned subject.¹ Since then, I have been able to collect such additional material as to afford conclusive proof of what at first could only be advanced as a hypothesis. In laying my conclusions before the readers of this Journal, I may be excused for first summarizing the contents of my previous paper, which appeared in a publication and in a language accessible only to a limited number of students.

After stating that the traditional meaning assigned to the Sanskrit word *pratoli* in the *kośas* and *ṭīkāś*, and also adopted by Böhtlingk in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, is that of 'a broad way, high-street,'² I pointed out that this sense

¹ *Album-Kern* (Leiden, 1903), p. 235 ff. My attention was first drawn to the problem by Dr. J. K. de Cock's remark in his dissertation *Eene Oud-Indische stad volgens het epos* (Groningen, 1899), p. 55 ff., regarding the occurrence of *pratoli* in the two great epics.

² *Pratoli rathyā viśikhā*, *A.K.* 2, 2, 2, and *Halāy.* 2, 134; *abhyantaramārga*, *S.K.Dr.*; *pratoli rathyā*, *Nilak.*; *rathyāpratoliviśikhāḥ samāh*, *Hemac.* 4, 981. On the other hand, *ḍurganagaradvāre iti kecit*, *S.K.Dr.*, and *Bharata* at *Rām.* 2, 80, 18.

cannot well be applied to any of the places, known to me, where the word occurs in either the epic or the classical literature. There it is mostly mentioned in connection with the fortifications of a city, and must have indicated some lofty and solid building. This is confirmed by the *Mṛchakatikā*, where we find the word repeatedly in its Prākṛit form *padolī*. My investigation led me to the conclusion that the real meaning of *pratolī*, *padolī*, is 'a gateway, especially that of a fortress or fortified city,' which meaning is still preserved in its modern derivative Hindī *pol*. Finally, I suggested that *pratolī* is possibly a Māgadhism, containing the same root which is found in the Sanskrit *toraṇa* and is represented in most other Indo-Teutonic languages.

Here, I wish only to draw attention to a few passages from Sanskrit literature which seem to me the most convincing.¹ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. von Schlegel, 5, 3, 17, we find *Laṅkā* described as *pāṇḍurābhīḥ pratolībhir uccābhir abhisamvṛtām*, which I propose to render 'surrounded (or guarded) by white, lofty gateways.' Here the meaning 'street' is clearly inadmissible, on account of *abhisamvṛtām* and of the accompanying adjectives.

In the same book, 5, 51, 36, *Hanumān* winds up *Rāma*'s message to *Rāvaṇa* with these threatening words :—

34. Yā Sītetyabhijanāsi yeyam tiṣṭhati te grhe
Kālārātriti tām viddhi sarva-Laṅkā-vināśinīm.
35. Tad alaṁ Kālapāśena Sītā-vigraha-rūpiṇā²
svayaṁ skandhāvasaktena kṣemam ātmani cintyatām.
36. Sītāyās tejasā dagdhām Rāma-kopa-pradīpitām
dahyamānām imām paśya purīm sātṭa-pratolikām.

"Learn that she whom thou knowest as *Sītā*, even she who dwelleth in thine house, is no other than the

¹ The following are the places, known to me, where *pratolī* occurs: *Rām.* 1, 5, 10 (v. Schlegel); 2, 80, 17 (87, 20, Gorresio); 5, 3, 17 (v. Schlegel); 5, 51, 36, and 6, 75, 6; *Mah.* 3, 15, 6; 12, 69, 55, and 14, 85, 12; *Vāyu-P.* 1, 14, 52; *Kathās.* 42, 124, and 43, 8; *Śiṣup.* 3, 64; *Prabhāvakacarita*, 4, 72; *Bilsar inser.*, l. 10. Prākṛit, *padolī*: *Mṛch.* (ed. Stenzler), pp. 99, 132, 162, and 164.

² Read *Sītā-nigraha-rūpiṇā*.

Angel of Death who will destroy the whole of Laṅkā. Therefore, have done with that sling of Death which took shape in Sītā's imprisonment, and which thou thyself hast slung round thy shoulders. Oh think of thine own safety. Behold, kindled by Sītā's radiance, inflamed by Rāma's wrath, this town burning with tower and gate."

It will be seen that in this case also the meaning 'high-road' cannot be right; whereas that of 'gate' yields an excellent sense. The same applies to Mahābhārata, 12, 69, 55, where Bhīṣma, stretched on his bed of arrows, instructs Yudhiṣṭhira on the duties of a king :—

54. Bhāṇḍāgārāyudhāgārān yodhāgārāṁśca sarvaśaḥ
asvāgārān gaṇāgārān balādhikaraṇāni ca.
55. parikhāś caiva Kauravya pratolir niṣkuṭāni ca
na jātv anyaḥ prapaśyeta guhyam etad Yudhiṣṭhira.

"Let no outsider see the arsenals and armouries anywhere, the horse-stables and elephant-stables and whatever relates to the army, nor the ditches, O son of Kuru, or the gates and bastions (?). [All] this is secret, O Yudhiṣṭhira."

Here, again, the commentator explains *pratolī* as synonymous with *rathyā*, but fails to add in what manner a king could possibly keep the high-roads secret. I may note in passing that his explanation of *niṣkuṭāni* as *grhārāmāḥ* is hardly more satisfactory. That gates as part of the fortifications should not be shown to outsiders is a principle still adhered to, I believe, by military authorities.

To the places quoted in my previous paper, I can add one from the Jaina text *Prabhāvakacarita*, 4, 72, an edition of which is being prepared by Paṇḍit Hirananda of the Archæological Survey Department. There it is related how a certain king, Gardabhilla by name, relying on his supernatural powers, neglects all ordinary means of defence when the enemy is threatening his capital :—

32. Na vā bhāṭa-kapātāni pūḥ-pratoliṣṭv asaṅjayat
Iti cāraiḥ parijñāya suhr̥d bhūpaṁ jagau guruḥ.
33. Anāvṛtaṁ samīkṣyedan durgam.

“Neither did he (Gardabhilla) place soldiers and doors in the city-gates. When he had learnt this through spies, the friendly *guru* (Kālakasūri) went to the king, as he had seen the fortress unclosed.”

The *kapāṭa* is the door (Latin *janua*) of wood or metal, whereas *pratolī* indicates the whole structure (Latin *porta*) built of stone or brick. In the word *dvār(a)* we find both meanings combined, as in the French *porte*. The adjective *dyḍhadvārapratolīkā* (metrical for *-pratolīkā*; Rām., ed. von Schlegel, 1, 5, 10) can, therefore, be rendered by ‘having gates provided with strong doors,’ taking *dyḍhadvāra* as a *bahuvrīhi* in itself. The whole compound is synonymous with the immediately preceding expression *kapātatorañavatī*.

Another possessive compound, *sopaśalyapratolīkā* (Mah. 3, 15, 6), I feel inclined to explain as ‘having gates provided with spikes,’ the latter serving the purpose of protecting the gate against attacks of mounted elephants, by preventing the latter from ramming the gates with their heads.

It is possible that in the same way *sāṭṭapratolīkā* really means ‘having gates provided with turrets’ (*aṭṭa*) and not ‘having gates and towers.’ Both interpretations are grammatically possible.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara, 42, 124, we meet with the compound *pratolīdvār*, which, in view of the above considerations, is to be rendered as ‘door of the gate’ :—

123. Gatvā ca dūraṁ sa prāpad ekam puravaram mahat
kurvāṇam Meruśikharabhrāntim hemamayair gṛhaiḥ.
124. Tatra raudram dadarsaikam pratolīdvāri rākṣasam
papraccha taṁ ca vīro sya purasyākhyām patiṁ ca saḥ.
125. Idam Śailapuram nāma nagaram rakṣasādhipaḥ
adhyāste Yamadamṣṭrākhyasvāmīnaḥ śatrumardanaḥ.

126. Ity ukte rakṣasā tena Yamadaṁṣṭra-jighāmsayā
tatrendīvaraseno tha sa praveṣṭum pravṛttavān.

“And after going some distance he (prince Indīvarasena) reached a large and excellent town which by its golden houses gave the impression of the top of Meru. There the hero saw at the gate-door a terrible giant (*rakṣasa*), and asked him the name of the town and its ruler. ‘This is the city Rock-town by name; our master, the foe-smashing giant king Death-tusk, rules it.’ When this was spoken by the giant, Indīvarasena, longing to kill Death-tusk, set about entering [the town].”

The passages in the *Mṛcchakatikā*, where the word *pratolī* is found in its Prākṛit form *padolī*, deserve special notice. Those acquainted with that most interesting of Old-Indian plays will remember that in the eighth act the wicked Samsthānaka, the king’s brother-in-law, after suing in vain for the favour of the courtesan Vasantasenā, strangles her in a fit of rage—only seemingly, as appears afterwards. One of the witnesses of his crime is his servant Sthāvaraka (lit. Constantius). The murderer, in order to secure his silence, sends him away with the following words :—

Tā gaccha edāim goṇāim geṇhia mama kelakāe pāsāda-
bālaggapadolikāe ciṣṭa jāva hagge āacchāmi.

“Go then with these bullocks and wait in the gate of my palace¹ till I come.”

After Sthāvaraka’s departure he remarks :—

Attapalittāṇe bhāve gade adamaṣaṇam ceḍe bi pāsāda-
bālaggapadoliāe nīlapūlidaṁ kadua thābaissāṁ.
Evvaṁ mante lakkhīde bhodi.

¹ The second member of the compound I have left untranslated, as its sense is uncertain. The literal meaning of *bālagga* (Skr. *vālāgra*) is hair-point.

“For his own safety His Honour (the parasite) has disappeared, and the slave (Sthāvaraka) I shall place in the palace-gate, loaded with chains. Thus the secret will be kept.”

In the last act we find the slave imprisoned in the palace, whence he sees that Cārudatta, falsely accused of Vasanta-senā's murder, is being led away by two Cāṇḍālas to be impaled. Wishing to rescue the victim, he tries in vain to attract the attention of the crowd. Then he resolves to throw himself down at the risk of his life :—

Jadi evvaṁ kalemi tadā ajja - Cāludatte ṇa vābādiadi.
Bhodu imādo pāsādabālaggapadolikādo ediṇā jīṇṇa-
gavakkheṇa attāṇaam nikkhībāmi.

“If I do so, then the honourable Cārudatta will not be put to death. Come, I will throw myself down from this palace-gate through this broken window.”

A moment later Samsthānaka appears on the scene, and, in order to witness the death of his enemy, ascends the palace-gate :—

Śampadaṁ attaṇakelikāe pāsādabālaggapadolikāe ahiluhia
attaṇo pallakkamaṁ pekkhāmi.

“Now let me ascend my palace-gate and watch my exploit.”

But in the meanwhile the death-procession has been stopped by Sthāvaraka :—

Adha kiṇṇimittam mama kelikāe pāsādabālaggapadolikāe
saṁbe ghoṣaṇā ṇibaddhā ṇivālidā a.

“But why near my palace-gate has the proclamation ceased and been stopped?”

At the same moment he realizes that the slave has escaped.

It is obvious that here also the word *padolī* cannot possibly be rendered by ‘high-road.’ Böhtlingk, in his excellent

translation of the *Mṛcchakatikā*, has rendered *pāśādabālagga-padolīāe* by "im Taubenhäuschen auf der Zinne meines Palastes," but it is not clear on what grounds the meaning 'pigeon-house' can be applied to the last member of the compound. It is true that pigeon-houses are sometimes placed on the top of large buildings in India, but they are hardly a suitable place to be used as a prison; nor are they, as a rule, provided with windows (*gāvākṣa*). I presume that the analogy of the compound *pāśādabālagga-kabodabālīāe*, which occurs elsewhere in the *Mṛcchakatikā*, towards the end of the first act (ed. Stenzler, p. 21, l. 21), has led the distinguished German scholar to the above rendering. I should feel more inclined to adopt the opposite course, and explain the latter compound by means of the former.

The difficulty is that both expressions are used by the half-mad Śākāra. But though his talk betrays madness, still there is a method in it. In some of the impossible expressions which he uses, it is evident that the author makes him convert or change syllables of the word which he intended to use, in order to produce a comical effect.¹ Thus I presume that, where he speaks of 'the pigeon-house on his palace' (*pāśādabālaggakabodabālīā*), he really meant 'the gate of his palace' (*pāśādabālaggapadolīā*).

The word *padolī* occurs once more in the compound *padolīduāraa*, in the sixth act of the *Mṛcchakatikā*, where Viraka, the superintendent of police, orders his constables to station themselves at the doors of the four city-gates of Ujjayinī in order to prevent the escape of the pretender Āryaka.

To the above instances from Old-Indian literature, I can now add the evidence of an inscriptional record which at first had escaped my notice. In the inscription on the Bilsar pillar (F.G.I., 42),² erected in the ninety-sixth year of the

¹ In the same manner I believe that, when the Śākāra addresses the Vidūṣaka as *kākapadamāstāsīśaka*, the expression which he intended to use was *kākapakṣhamāsta*. It would be the same as if in German one spoke of 'Krähenskopf' instead of 'Krauskopf.'

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscr. Indic., vol. iii, p. 42 ff.

Gupta era (A.D. 415-16) and in the reign of Kumāragupta, we read (l. 10) :—

Kṛtvā [— — ā]bhirāmām muni-vasati [— —] svargga-
sopāna-r[ū]pām |
kauberacchanda bimbām sphaṭika-maṇi-dal-ābhāsa-gaurām
pratolim |
prāsādāgrābhirūpaṁ guṇavarabhavanam [dharmma-sa]tt-
ram yathāvat |
puṇyeṣv evābhirāmām vrajati śubha-matis tātaśarmmā
dhruvo stu ||

This passage has been rendered by Dr. Fleet as follows :—

“Having made a gateway, charming, (*and*)
the abode of saints (*and*) having the form of a staircase
leading to heaven, (*and*) resembling a (*pearl*)-necklace
of the kind called *kaubēracchanda*, (*and*) white with
the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems ;—(*and*
having made), in a very proper manner, a [*religious*]
almshouse (?), the abode of those who are eminent
in respect of virtuous qualities ; resembling in form
the top part of a temple ;—he, the virtuous-minded
one, roams in a charming manner among the items
of religious merit (*that he has thus accumulated*) ;
may the venerable Śarman endure for a long time !”

It will be noticed that Dr. Fleet, also, for reasons stated in a footnote (*loc. cit.*, 43) has taken *pratolī* in the sense of ‘a gateway (with a flight of steps).’ We see, moreover, that in this instance it is not a city-gate, but a gate of an apparently ornamental character giving access to the enclosure within which some monument (in this case, a pillar) stands. The well-known *toranas* of Sāñchi may be quoted as a parallel example. It is hoped that, within the near future, a careful excavation of the site of Bilsar will enable us to reconstruct the *pratolī* mentioned in the inscription.

As to the *pratolī* as a city-gate, literary evidence, however abundant, is insufficient to convey an exact idea of its

architectural peculiarities. Nor would it be possible to decide whether and in what respects it differed from a *torana* and a *gopura*. That these words, though synonyms, do not convey exactly the same meaning, may be inferred from the circumstance that in the epics they are mentioned side by side. Evidently, the *pratolī* was a strongly-built gateway of considerable height, sometimes plastered or whitewashed, provided with spiked (?) doors and perhaps with flanking bastions or towers (*aṭṭa*). In the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, we see it contained a room, evidently raised at some distance above the ground-level, which could be used as a prison and was provided with windows (*gavākṣa*, lit. *ail-de-bœuf*). It is a curious circumstance that Sthāvaraka could only escape through a broken window; from which we may infer that those windows were closed, either with iron bars or more probably with perforated screens of stone or brick such as are still commonly found in Indian monuments.

We may assume that, apart from the influence of Muhammadan architecture, the gates of ancient Hindū towns and forts do not essentially differ from the *pratolī* of Sanskrit literature. So much is certain, that in Rājputānā city-gates very often bear names ending in *poḷ*, which, as we shall presently see, is the Hindī derivate of the Sanskrit *pratolī*. Instances are: Cānd Poḷ (Jaipur); Sūraj Poḷ (Udaipur); Bhairō, Hanumān, Gaṇeś, Lakṣmaṇ, and Rām Poḷ (Citaur); all in Rājputānā. The word *pōḷ* as a generic name occurs in Gujarātī also, whereas in Hindī we have an equivalent in *paur* or *paurī*. In Urdū it has been replaced by the Persian *darwāza*, which is now regularly found in the names of city-gates in Northern India. There is, however, one curious exception. In the famous Mughal forts of Dehli, Fatehpur-Sikri, and Lāhōr, we find one gate designated Hathiā-paul, i.e. Hāthiyā-poḷ, or the Elephant Gate. These gates were at Dehli and Fatehpur-Sikri flanked by large-sized statues of elephants, which account for the name. At the latter place those figures are still *in situ*, though in a very mutilated state. At Dehli the two elephant-statues, which Bernier saw at the entrance of

the Dehli Gate of the fort in the beginning of 'Alamgīr's reign, were removed by order of that emperor owing to religious scruples. Shortly after the Mutiny, when the greater portion of Shāh-Jahān's palace was being demolished, some fragments of the elephant-statues were discovered inside the fort, hardly enough to make up one elephant. The revived animal, after many peregrinations, has, at the instance of Lord Curzon, been lately replaced on its original site outside the Dehli Gate of the Dehli Fort.¹ The Hatiyā-paul of the Lāhor Fort does not seem ever to have been provided with elephant-statues. But here the name either is a survival, or possibly relates to the tile-decoration on the adjoining wall, in which we find many representations of elephant-fights. The use of the term Hatiyā-paul for gates flanked by elephants is of archæological interest, as it indicates that not only the name, but also the thing itself, was borrowed by the Mughals from the Hindūs.² This accounts perhaps for the popular tradition preserved by Bernier, that the figures on the Dehli elephants represented Jaimall and Fataḥ Singh, who defended Citaur against Akbar.

The word *poḷ* is also found in the compound *tirpoḷiyā*, meaning 'a gate with three passages or gateways.' Gates known by that name exist at Dehli, Jaipur, and Udaipur.

It now remains to consider whether the derivation of the Hindī *poḷ* from the Sanskrit *pratolī* is linguistically possible. In deciding this question, I wish thankfully to acknowledge the assistance received from so good an authority in the Indian vernaculars as Dr. Grierson. That scholar is of opinion that the form of the modern word proves my derivation to be correct. The lingual *l* in Rājasthānī presupposes a Prākṛit *ḷ*, whereas a dental *l* always represents a double *ḷ* in Prākṛit.

¹ For the curious history of the Dehli elephant cf. Bernier, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1699), vol. ii, p. 33; Franklin, *As. Res.*, vol. iv, p. 446; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. i, p. 225 ff., and *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xxxii, 296; Abbot, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xxxii, p. 375, and Sayyid Ahmad, *Āthār-u-Sanādāt*, ii, 5.

² In the famous Hindū fort of Gōāliyar (*vulgo* Gwalior), in Central India, there is a Hāthiyā-paul, which once had the figure of an elephant, as mentioned by Bābar and Abu-l-fazl.

The vowel of the Gujarātī *pól*, which has the sound of the English *aw* in 'law,' is generally derived from an older *a + u* or *a + o*, so that *pól* postulates an older *paola*, and we are thence easily referred to the Prākṛit *padolā* and the Sanskrit *pratolā*. It should be observed that, besides *pól*, the form ending in *i* also occurs, corresponding to the ordinary Hindī *paurī*.

"In mediæval Hindī literature," Dr. Grierson remarks, "the word is quite common in the form of *paūrī*, meaning 'the gateway of a castle or of a town.' The oldest form in Hindī which I have noticed is *pavāri* in the *Padumāvati* of Malik Muḥammad (c. 1540 A.D.) which is written in Eastern Hindī. It occurs frequently in that work, e.g., in line 2 of *caupāi* 36 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition." The nasal in the Eastern Hindī form is evidently inorganic.

It is interesting that some of the Hill dialects of the Western Himālayas possess also a derivative of the Sanskrit *pratolā* in the word *pról* or *prólā*, meaning 'the main gate of a castle, palace, temple, or any other large building.' I have found it used in that sense in Kāngrā, Kuḷḷū, and Cambā (*vulgo* Chamba), i.e. in the valleys of the Byās and the Rāwī. An instance is afforded by a popular rhyme current in Kāngrā:—*Koṭōcām dī pról ghālkar kō ātā khusāmatī kō cōl*; "In the gate of the Kaṭoces, the helper (?) gets flour and the flatterer rice."¹

In Kuḷḷū, the word occurs also as a geographical name, applied to one of the ancient administrative divisions called *wazirī* into which that former principality is subdivided. *Wazirī Pról* (*vulgo* Parol) is the uppermost portion of the Byās valley, narrowing towards the Rotang Pass whence that river takes its rise. Thus the designation 'gate' may easily be accounted for from the physical features of that tract. There is, however, a popular explanation, according to which the name *pról* was, in the first instance, applied to the palace of the Rājās of Kuḷḷū which originally stood at

¹ G. C. Barnes and J. B. Lyall, *Settlement Report of the Kangra District*, Lahore, 1889, App., p. xxii. The Kaṭoces are the leading Rājput clan of the district, who claim descent from the ancient rulers of Trigarta.

Jagatsukh, the ancient capital, and was then extended to the tract in which this place is situated. That the word is in reality used as a *pars pro toto* for the whole building to which the gateway belongs, is proved by the rhyme above quoted.

In Cambā, the petty hill-state on the upper Rāvi, the word *prôl* occurs also both as a generic name and in proper names. Thus, one of the less frequented passes between Cambā and Kāngrā is known by the name of Prôlī-rā-galā, literally 'gate-neck.' The passage enclosed by rocks on both sides is said to present the appearance of a gateway. Here we meet the word in its older form ending in *ī*.

A detached gateway through which the road from Cambā town approaches the village of Chatrārhi is known as Chatrārhi-rī-prôl. I quote this instance in order to show that the word is feminine in its shorter form also.¹ The pronunciation of the vowel is exactly the same as in the Hindi *phôl*, and the final consonant is always pronounced as a lingual.

In connection with the fact that the *r* of *pratoli* has been preserved in these hill dialects, it is interesting to note that a non-assimilation of post-consonantic *r* was one of the features of the Prakrits of the North-West.² This is first attested for the time of Aśoka by the two rock inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra.³ Here the king calls himself *Devānaṁ priyo Priyadraṣi*, whereas in the other inscriptions we find *Devānaṁ piye Piyadasi*. Of later epigraphs I quote that on the well-known Taxila vase, now in the Lahor Museum⁴ :—

Sihileṇa Siharachiteṇa ca bhratarehi Takhaṣilae aya[m]
thuv[o] pratithavito sava-Budhana[m] puyae.

¹ In the Cambiyālī dialect the genitive ending is *-rā*, fem. *-rī*, plur. *-re*, whereas in Pañjābī we have *-dā*, *-dī*, *-de*, and in Hindi *-kā*, *-kī*, *-ke*.

² H. Kern, *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten* (Amsterdam, 1873), p. 45.

³ G. Bühler, *Aśoka's Rock Edicts, Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 447 ff.

⁴ A. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. ii, p. 125. The inscription being in Kharoṣṭhi, the length of the vowels is not indicated.

“The brothers Sihila (Skr. Simhala) and Siharachita (Skr. Simharaksita) have erected this *stūpa* at Takkhasilā (i.e. Taxila) for the worship of all Buddhas.”

Finally, I wish to offer a few remarks on the origin of the Sanskrit *pratolī*. The etymology proposed in the Śabda-kalpādruma, which connects the word with the root *tul* (*pratulyate parimīyate*, etc.), is far from convincing. We have noticed an Old-Hindī form *paūrī*, which Dr. Grierson takes to be the same word as *pōl(i)*, and are therefore justified in assuming an Old-Indian **pratorī*, which, though not found in Sanskrit literature, must have existed side by side with *pratolī*. This would lead us to the conclusion that the latter form is to be regarded as a Māgadhism.¹ Assuming **pratorī* to be the more correct form, it will be possible to connect the word, with also its synonym *torana*, with the Greek *τύρρις* and Latin *turris*, from which the Italian *torre*, French *tour*, English *tower*, and perhaps German *turm*, are derived.²

¹ ‘Māgadhism’ is perhaps an anachronism. What I mean is that the form **pratorī* would have been ‘lautgesetzlich,’ and *pratolī* due to ‘Dialectmischung.’

² C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam, 1898), p. 117, i.v. ~~toranam~~; and F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 384, i.v. *Turm*.



THE TRADITION ABOUT THE
CORPOREAL RELICS OF BUDDHA.

BY

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XXIV.

THE TRADITION ABOUT THE CORPOREAL RELICS
OF BUDDHA.

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I.

BY way of a preliminary to some further remarks on the inscription on the Piprāhavā relic-vase,¹ which I shall present when a facsimile of the record can be given with them, I offer a study of an interesting side-issue, the tradition regarding the corporeal relics of Buddha.

The subject has been touched by another writer in this Journal, 1901. 397 ff. And I am indebted to his article for (in addition to some minor references) guidance to the story told in Buddhaghōṣha's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, which otherwise might have remained unknown to me. For the rest, however, that treatment of the subject was biassed by starting with the postulate that the Piprāhavā record could only register an enshrining of relics of Buddha by the Sakyas at Kapilavastu. It was, consequently, entirely directed to throwing discredit on the tradition about the eventual fate of the relics. Also, it has by no means told us, or even indicated, all that there is to be learnt; and it is not exactly accurate even as far as it goes.

I take the matter from the opposite point of view; namely

¹ I have been using hitherto the form *Piprāvā*, which I took over from another writer. But it appears, from Major Vost's article on Kapilavastu (page 553 ff. above), that the correct form of the name is that which I now adopt.

(see page 149 ff. above), that the inscription registers an enshrining of relics, not of Buddha, but of his slaughtered kinsmen, the Sakyas themselves. And my object is to exhibit the details of the tradition about the relics of Buddha more clearly; to add various items which have been overlooked; and to examine the matter carefully, in the light of the tradition having quite possibly a basis in fact.

And there is a difference between the two cases. To support the previous interpretation of the Piprāhavā record, it was vitally important to invalidate the tradition about the eventual fate of the corporeal relics of Buddha; for, if, some centuries ago, the memorial mound raised at Kapilavastu by the Sakyas over their share of those relics was opened, and the relics were abstracted from it, how could that monument be found in 1898, externally indeed in a state of ruin, but internally unviolated, with the relics, and a record proclaiming the nature of them, still inside it? For my case, however, the truth or otherwise of the tradition is of no leading importance at all, and might almost be a matter of indifference, except for the intrinsic interest attaching to the tradition itself: the tradition might be shewn to be false, but that would not affect my interpretation of the record; we could still look to find corporeal relics of Buddha in some other memorial in the same neighbourhood. At the same time, while my case is not in any way dependent upon proving the tradition to be true, it is capable of receiving support from a substantiation of the tradition.

However, the question of the merits of the tradition cannot be decided either way, until we have the traditional statements fully before us, in a plain and convenient form. So, I confine myself first to exhibiting those statements just as they are found; starting the matter, in this note, with the tradition about the original division and enshrining of the relics, and going on afterwards to the tradition about the subsequent fate of them. I will review the whole tradition, and consider it in connexion with certain instructive facts, in my following article on the inscription.

Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta.

In tracing the history of the corporeal relics of Buddha, we naturally commence with the narrative, presented in the ancient Pāli work entitled *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, and possibly dating back to B.C. 375 (see page 670 below), of the circumstances that attended the distribution of them and the building of Stūpas or memorial mounds over them. And I prefix to that the account, given in the same work, of the cremation of the corpse of Buddha; because it includes several features of interest which may suitably be brought into relief, with some comments, from the artistic setting in which they stand in the original text.

The narrative runs as follows; see the text edited by Childers in this Journal, 1876. 250 ff., and by Davids and Carpenter in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, part 2. 154 ff., and the translation by Davids in SBE, 11. 112 ff.:¹—

The Bhagavat, “the Blessed One,” Buddha, died,² at the

¹ Using Childers’ text, which is divided into rather long paragraphs, I found the translation very useful in leading me quickly to the points to be noted. The translation, however, cannot be followed as an infallible guide; and I have had to take my own line in interpreting the text at various places.

While revising these proofs, I have seen for the first time Turnour’s article in JASB, 7, 1838. 991 ff., where he gave a translation of the sixth chapter (the one in which we are interested) of this Sutta, and an abstract of the preceding ones. By the later translator, Turnour’s work has been dismissed with the observation (SBE, 11. introd., 31) that, “though a most valuable contribution for the time, now more than half a century ago,” it “has not been of much service for the present purpose.” Nevertheless, there are several details in which it contrasts very favourably with the later translation.

² In this Sutta, Buddha is most usually designated as the Bhagavat. But other appellations of him used in it are the Tathāgata, the Sugata, the Sambuddha, and the Samaṇa Gōtama. The appellation Buddha occurs in the expression:—*amhākaṃ Buddhō ahu khantivādō*; “our Buddha was one who used to preach forbearance” (text, 259/166), in the speech of the Brahman Dōṇa, when he was asking the claimants not to quarrel over the division of the relics.

The word used for “he died” is *parinibbāyi* (text, 252/156). From that point, the text constantly presents *parinibbuta* to describe him as “dead;” and it several times, both here and in previous passages, presents *parinibbāna* to denote his “death.” And, just after the statement that he died, it places in the mouth of the venerable Anuruddha a *gāthā* of which the last line runs:—*Pajjōtass-ēva nibbānaṃ vimōkhō chētasō ahū*; “just like the extinction of a lamp, there was a deliverance (of him) from consciousness, conscious existence.”

The text thus establishes *nibbuta* (Sanskrit, *nirvṛita*) as the exact equivalent of *parinibbuta* (Skt., *parinirvṛita*) in the sense of ‘dead.’ And it establishes *nibbāna* (Skt., *nirvāṇa*), and any such Sanskrit terms as *vimōksha*, *mōksha*,

good old age of fourscore years,¹ at Kusinārā, the city of a branch of a tribe known as the Mallas. And we may note that, though Kusinārā is several times mentioned in the Sutta as a *nagara*, 'a city,' still it is distinctly marked as quite a small place. We are expressly told (text, 245/146; trans., 99) that it was not a *mahānagara*, a great city, like Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvattī, Sāketa, Kōsambī, and Bārāṇasī, full of warriors and Brāhmaṇs and householders all devoted to Buddha, but was merely:— *kudda-nagaraka*, *ujjaṅgala-nagaraka*, *sākhā-nagaraka*; "a little town of plaster walls, a little town in a clearing of the jungle, a mere branch town;" and that Buddha accepted it for the closing scene of his life because of its pristine greatness, under the name *Kusāvattī*, as the royal city of the righteous monarch Mahā-Sudassana.

At this little place, then, Buddha died. And he breathed his last breath, in the last watch of the night, on a couch, with its head laid to the north, between a twin pair of Sāla-trees which were masses of fruiting flowers from blossoms

mukti, etc., as the exact equivalent of *parinibbāna* (Skt., *parinirvāṇa*) in the sense of 'death.'

I mention this because a view has been expressed that, in addition to a reckoning running from the *parinirvāṇa*, the death, of Buddha, there was also a reckoning running from his *nirvāṇa* as denoting some other occurrence in his career.

¹ For this detail, see text, 73/100; trans., 37. And compare text, 249/151; trans., 108; where we are told that, seeking after merit, at the age of twenty-nine he went forth as a wandering ascetic, and that he wandered:— *vassāni paññāsa samādhikāni*; "for fifty years and somewhat more."

With this last expression, compare the same phrase, but in another connexion, in the Jātaka, ed. Fausböll, 2. 383. There, the commentary (after perhaps suggesting, according to one manuscript, *sama*, for *saṃā*, + *adhikāni*) distinctly explains the expression by *atireka-paññāsa-vassāni*. From that we can see that *samādhika*, in both places, is not *saṃā* + *adhika*, 'increased by a year,'— (giving "fifty years and one year more"),— but is *samādhika*, 'possessed of something more,' with the short *a* of the antepenultimate syllable lengthened for the sake of the metre. And, in fact, in the passage in the Jātaka we have the various reading *samādhikāni*.

The long life thus attributed to Buddha is somewhat remarkable in the case of a Hindū. But, if it were an imaginative detail, the figure would almost certainly have been fixed at eighty-four or eighty-two, on the analogy of something referred to further on, under the Divyavadāna.

The actual cause of the death of Buddha was, coupled with extreme old age, an attack of dysentery induced by a meal of *sūkara-maddava* (text, 231/127). This has been rendered by "dried boar's flesh" (trans., 71), and elsewhere, not very kindly, by "pork." Having regard to *mṛda*, 'soft, delicate, tender,' as the origin of *mārdava*, *maddava*, I would suggest "the succulent parts, titbits, of a young wild boar."

out of season,¹— (the text goes on to emphasize the condition of the flowers by saying that they were constantly dropping off and falling onto the body of Buddha),— in the Sāla-grove of the Mallas which was an *upavattana*, an adjacent part (outskirt or suburb), of the city, on the bank of the Hiraññavatī, on the further side from the town Pāvā.

¹ The words (text, 239/137) are:— *Tēna khō pana samayēna yamaka-sālā sabba-phalipullā honti akāla-pupphēhi*.

The month is not specified. And there were two views on this point. Buddhaghōsha says, in the introduction to his *Samantapāsādikā* (*Vinayapitaka*, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 283), that Buddha became *parinibbūta*, i.e. died, on the full-moon day of the month *Viśākha*, = *Vaiśākha*. Hiuen Tsiang has said (*Julien, Mémoires*, 1. 334; *Beal, Records*, 2. 33; *Watters, On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 28) that, according to the ancient historical documents, Buddha entered into *nirvāṇa*, at the age of eighty, on the fifteenth day of the second half— [meaning apparently the full-moon day]— of the month *Vaiśākha*, but that, according to the school of the Sarvāstivādins, he entered into *nirvāṇa* on the eighth day of the second half of *Kārttika*.

We need not speculate about the rival claims. But the following remarks may be made.

From Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* (1819), 3. 9, and plate 212, and Drury's *Useful Plants of India* (1858), 405, I gather the following information about the Sāla-tree. It has two botanical names, *Vatica robusta* and *Shorea robusta*; the latter having been given to it by Roxburgh in honour of Sir John Shore, Bart. (Lord Teignmouth), who was Governor-General of India, 1793-98. It is a native of the southern skirts of the Himalayas, and is a timber-tree which is second in value to only the teak. It grows with a straight majestic trunk, of great thickness, to a height of from 100 to 150 feet, and gives beams which are sometimes 2 feet square and 30 feet or more in length. And it yields also large quantities of resin, the best pieces of which are frequently used, instead of the common incense, in Indian temples. It flowers in the hot season (Roxburgh), in March-April (Drury), with numerous five-petalled pale yellow flowers about three-quarters of an inch in breadth. And the seed, which has a very strong but brief vitality, ripens (by the maturing of the fruit) about three months after the opening of the blossoms. The flowers, of course, begin to fall when the fruit is becoming set. Roxburgh's plate exhibits well both the flowers and the fruit.

Now, it is somewhat difficult to compare the Indian months, whether solar or lunar, with the English months: because (1), owing to the precession of the equinoxes being not taken into consideration in determining the calendar, the Indian months are always travelling slowly forward through the tropical year; and (2), owing to the system of intercalary months, the initial days of the Indian lunar months are always receding by about eleven days for one or two years, and then leaping forwards by about nineteen days. But, in the present time, the full-moon of *Vaiśākha* falls on any day ranging from about 27 April to 25 May, new style. In the time of Buddhaghōsha, it ranged from about 2 to 30 April, old style. At the time of the death of Buddha, it ranged from about 25 March to 22 April, old style. The specified day in the month *Kārttika* comes, of course, close upon six months later.

The tradition about the month *Vaiśākha* in connexion with the death of Buddha may thus be based on some exceptionally early season, when the Sāla-trees had burst into blossom an appreciable time before the commencement of the hot weather. On the other hand, it might quite possibly be founded on only some poetical description of the death of Buddha, containing a play on the word *viśākha* in the two senses of 'branched, forked,' and of 'branchless' in the way of all the branches being hidden by masses of flowers.

The venerable Ānanda having notified the occurrence, early in the day, to the Mallas of Kusinārā (text, 253/158; trans., 121), the Mallas bade their servants collect perfumes and garlands and all the cymbals and similar musical instruments in Kusinārā. And, taking with them those appliances and five hundred pairs of woven cloths (*dussa*), they repaired to the place where the corpse (*sarīraṃ*) of Buddha lay. They spent the whole of that day in doing homage to the corpse with dancing and songs and music, and with garlands and perfumes, and in making canopies of their garments (*chēla*), and in fashioning wreaths. And then, finding it too late to cremate the corpse, they determined to perform the cremation on the following day. In the same way, however, there passed away the second day, and the third, the fourth, the fifth, and even the sixth.¹

On the seventh day (text, 254/159; trans., 123), the Mallas proposed to carry the corpse by the south and outside the city to a spot outside the city on the south, and to cremate it there. And eight of their chief men, having washed their heads and clad themselves in new clothes (*ahata vattha*), prepared to lift the corpse. But they could not raise it; for, as the venerable Anuruddha explained, such was not the purpose of the gods.

Accordingly (text, 255/160; trans., 124),—the intention of the gods having been fully made known to them,—still doing homage to the corpse with their own mortal dancing and songs and music and with garlands and perfumes, together with an accompaniment of divine dancing and songs and music and garlands and perfumes from the gods, they carried the corpse by the north to the north of the city. Then, entering by the northern gate, they carried it through

¹ Here the question arises: how was the corpse of Buddha preserved from hopeless decomposition during the time that elapsed?

I would suggest that the mention of the perfumes and the woven cloths (*dussa*, = Skt. *dūrśa*) may indicate that recourse was had to some process of embalming and swathing. And, in fact, (see trans., introd., 39 f.), Robert Knox, in his *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, part 3, chapter 11, in describing the arrangements for cremation, has expressly mentioned disembowelling and embalming in cases where the corpse of a person of quality is not cremated speedily.

the midst of the city into the midst thereof.¹ And then, going out by the eastern gate, they carried it to the shrine known as the Makuta-bandhanachētiya or coronation-temple² of the Mallas, which was on the east of the city. And there they laid it down.

There, under the directions of the venerable Ānanda (text, 255/161; trans., 125),³ the corpse was prepared for cremation, in all respects just as if it had been the corpse of a Chakkavatti or universal monarch. It was wrapped in a new cloth (*ahata vattha*), and then in flocks of cotton (*kappāsa*), alternately, until there were five hundred layers of each. It was then placed in an iron-coloured oil-trough, which was covered by another iron-coloured trough.⁴ And it was then placed on a funeral pile (*chitaka*) made of all sorts of odorous substances.

¹ A very special honour was conferred on the corpse of Buddha by this treatment; for (as the translator has indicated, 125, note), to carry into the city, in any ordinary case, the corpse of a person who had died outside it, would have polluted the city.

In a similar manner, the corpse of Mahinda was carried into the city Anurādhapura by the eastern gate, and through the midst of the city, and then out again on the south; see *Dīpavanisa*, 17. 102, 103.

² See note on page 160 above.

³ He was, in fact, repeating instructions which had been given to him by Buddha; see text, 242/141; trans., 92.

⁴ The text here is:—*ayasāya tēla-dōṇiyā pakkhipitvā aññissā ayasāya dōṇiyā paṭikujjitvā*.

For following the translator in rendering the apparently somewhat rare word *paṭikujjetvā*, *paṭikujjitvā*—(it is not given in Childers' Pāli Dictionary; but the translator has given us, p. 93, note 1, two other references for it, in the *Jātaka*, 1. 50, 69)—by “having covered,” I find another authority in the *Theragāthā*, verse 681:—“A puffed up, flighty friar, resorting to evil friends, sinks down with them in a great torrent,—*ummiyā paṭikujjitō*, covered, turned over, overwhelmed, by a wave.” And it appears that we have in Sanskrit *nikubjana* in the sense of ‘upsetting, turning over.’ So also Childers has given us, in Pāli, *nikujjita*, with the variant *nikkujjita*, in the sense of ‘overtaken, upside down,’ and *nikkujjana*, ‘reversal, upsetting.’

As regards the word *ayasa*, I suppose that it does represent the Sanskrit *āyasa*, from *ayas*, ‘iron;’ in fact, it is difficult to see how it can be anything else. As to its meaning, Buddhaghōṣa's assertion (see trans., 92, note 4) that *āyasa* (as he has it) was here used in the sense of ‘gold, golden,’ can hardly be accepted; but his comment is of use in indicating that he was not quite satisfied that the troughs were made of iron: he may have thought that, whereas iron troughs could not be burnt up or even melted, golden troughs might at least be melted.

In following the understanding, when I previously had this passage under observation (note on page 160 above), that the troughs were made of iron, I felt the following difficulty:—The two iron troughs themselves cannot have

Four chief men of the Mallas (text, 257/163 ; trans., 128), who had washed their heads and clothed themselves in new clothes for the purpose, then sought to set the funeral pile on fire. But they could not do so ; because, as was explained to them by the venerable Anuruddha, the intention of the gods was otherwise : namely, that the pile should not catch fire until homage should have been done at the feet of Buddha by the venerable Mahā-Kassapa, who, travelling at that time from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of five hundred Bhikkhus, friars, had heard on the way, from an Ājīvaka,¹ the news of the death of Buddha, and was pushing on to Kusinārā. In due course, Mahā-Kassapa and the five hundred Bhikkhus arrived. And, when they had done homage at the feet of Buddha, the funeral pile caught fire of its own accord.

The corpse (*sarīraṃ*) of Buddha was then (text, 258/164 ; trans., 130) so thoroughly consumed, and, with it, every two cloths of the five hundred pairs of woven cloths (*dussa*)

been consumed ; and how could any fire from the outside reach what was inside them? : and, even if the contents of the lower trough were set on fire before the covering trough was placed over it, still, how could they continue to burn without free access of air? But I did not then see any way out of the difficulty. It has been since then suggested to me that perhaps the troughs were made red-hot, and the corpse of Buddha was baked, not burnt ; but there could hardly be accomplished in that way the complete destruction of everything except the bones.

If, however, it was really intended to mark the troughs as made of iron, why were two separate words used— (at any rate where *dōṇi* is not in composition with *tīla*),—instead of the compound *ayō-dōṇi*, just as we have in Sanskrit *ayō-drōṇi*, ‘an iron trough’? ; in such a trough, we are told (*Divyāvadāna*, 377), there was pounded to death, along with her child, a lady of the harem who had given offence to Aśoka. Further, *āyasa* is distinctly used to mean, not ‘made of iron,’ but ‘of the colour of iron,’ in the *Mahābhārata*, 5. 1709 ; there *Sanatsujāta* tells *Dhṛitarāshtra* that *brahman*, the self-existing impersonal spirit, may appear as either white, or red, or black, or iron-coloured (*āyasa*), or sun-coloured. And Robert Knox (*loc. cit.* ; see note on page 660 above) has mentioned a custom of placing the corpse of a person of quality, for cremation, inside a tree cut down and hollowed out like a hog-trough.

In these circumstances, I now take the text as indicating wooden troughs, which, naturally or as the result of being painted, were of the colour of iron ; adding that an oil-trough seems to have been used as the lower receptacle because, being saturated with oil, it would be very inflammable. But, to make sure of understanding the whole passage correctly, we require to find a detailed description of the cremation of the corpse of a Chakkavatti.

¹ A non-Buddhist religious mendicant ; probably a worshipper of Vishṇu (see, e.g., *IA*, 20. 361 f.).

in which it had been swathed, that, just as when ghee¹ or oil is burnt, neither ashes nor soot could be detected, either of the cuticle, or of the skin, or of the flesh, or of the sinews, or of the lubricating fluid of the joints; only the bones (*sarīrāni*) were left.² Then streams of water fell down from the sky, and extinguished the pyre. So, also, from "the storehouse of waters (*beneath the earth*)" streams of water arose, and extinguished the pyre. And the Mallas of Kusinārā extinguished the pyre with water scented with perfumes of all kinds.³

Then, for seven days (text, 258/164; trans., 131), the Mallas of Kusinārā guarded the bones, the corporeal relics (*sarīrāni*), of Buddha in their *santhāgāra*, their townhall, within a cage of spears with a rampart of bows; doing homage to them with dancing and songs and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

Meanwhile, the news had spread abroad. So (text, 258/164; trans., 131), messengers arrived, from various people who claimed shares of the corporeal relics (*sarīrāni*), and promised to erect Thūpas (Stūpas, memorial mounds) and hold feasts in honour of them. Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, the Vēdēhiputta or son of a lady of the Vīdēha people, sent a messenger, and claimed a share on the ground that both he and Buddha were Khattiyas, members of the warrior and regal caste.⁴ Shares were claimed on the same

¹ The word is *sappi*, 'ghee, clarified butter;' not anything meaning 'glue' as might be thought from the translation.

² It may be useful to remark here that the tradition seems to have been as follows:—The following bones remained uninjured; the four canine teeth, the two collar-bones, and the *unhisa*, *ushnisha*, an excrescence from the cranium. The other bones were more or less injured by the fire, and were reduced to fragments, of which the smallest were of the size of a mustard-seed, the medium-sized were of the size of half a grain of rice, and the largest were of the size of half a *mugga* or kidney-bean.

I take this from Turnour, JASB, 7, 1838. 1013, note. He apparently took it from Buddhaghōṣa's commentary.

³ To this apparent act of supererogation, attention has been drawn by the translator (130, note). As, however, Buddha had died and was cremated in their village-domain, the Mallas were entitled to take a part in quenching the funeral fire.

⁴ Fourteen days elapsed, and apparently no more, from the death of Buddha to the distribution of his relics. The distances over which, during the interval,

ground, and in the same way, by the Lichchhavis of Vēsālī, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kōliyas of Rāmagāma, and the Mallas of Pāvā. A share was claimed by the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu, on the ground:—Bhagavā amhakam nāti-setthō; “the Blessed One was our chief kinsman.” And a share was claimed by a Brāhmaṇ (not named) of Vēṭha-dīpa, on the ground that, as a Brāhmaṇ, he was entitled to receive relics of a Khattiya.

At first (text, 259/166; trans., 133), the Mallas of Kusi-nārā, addressing the messengers company by company and troop by troop,¹ refused to part with any of the relics; because Buddha had died in their *gāma-kkhetta*, their village-domain. It was pointed out to them, however, by a Brāhmaṇ named Dōṇa, who addressed the parties company by company and troop by troop, that it was not seemly that any strife should arise over the relics, and that it was desirable that there should be Thūpas far and wide, in order that many people might become believers. So, with their consent, thus obtained, he divided the corporeal relics (*sarirāṇi*) into eight equal shares, fairly apportioned, and distributed them to the claimants. And he himself received the *kumbha*, the earthen jar in which the bones had been collected after the cremation.² And to the Mōriyas of Pippalivana,—who, also, had claimed a share on the ground that, like Buddha, they were Khattiyas, but whose messenger had arrived too late, after

the news had to travel and the claims to shares of the relics had to be transmitted in return, can hardly be estimated until we can arrive at some definite opinion as to the identification of Kusi-nārā.

¹ The text before this indicates only one messenger from each claimant. It here says:—Kōsinārakā Mallā tē saṅghē gaṇē etad-avōcchum.

The translator has said:—“The Mallas of Kusi-nārā spoke to the assembled brethren.” But I do not find any reason for rendering the words *tē saṅghē gaṇē* by “the assembled brethren.”

We need not exactly go as far as Buddhaghōṣa does, in asserting that each claimant took the precaution, in case of a refusal, of following his messenger in person, with an army. We may, however, surmise that each messenger was, not merely a runner bearing a verbal demand or a letter, but a duly accredited envoy, of some rank, provided with an armed escort.

² See note on page 160 above. One of the manuscripts used for the text in the Dīgha-Nikāya gives, instead of *kumbha*, both here and twice below, *tumbha*. This latter word is explained in Childers’ Pāli Dictionary as meaning ‘a sort of water vessel with a spout.’

the division of the relics,— there were given the extinguished embers (*aṅgāra*) of the fire.

Thus, then (text, 260/166; trans., 134), Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, made a Thūpa over corporeal relics (*sarīraṃ*) of Buddha, and held a feast, at Rājagaha. So did the Lichehhavis of Vēsālī, at Vēsālī. So did the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu, at Kapilavatthu. And so did the Bulis of Allakappa, at or in ¹ Allakappa; the Kōliyas of Rāmagāma, at Rāmagāma; the Brāhmaṇ of Vēṭhadīpa, at or in Vēṭhadīpa; the Mallas of Pāvā, at Pāvā;² and the Mallas of Kusinārā, at Kusinārā. And, at some unspecified place, the Brāhmaṇ Dōṇa made a Thūpa over the *kumbha*, the earthen jar in which the bones had been collected after the cremation, and held a feast. And the Mōriyas of Pippalivana made a Thūpa over the embers, and held a feast, at or in Pippalivana.

Thus there were eight Thūpas for the corporeal relics (*aṭṭha sarīra-thūpā*), and a ninth for the *kumbha*, the earthen jar, and a tenth for the embers. “That is how it happened in former times!”³

Some verses standing at the end of the Sutta (text, 260/167; trans., 135) assert that the body (*sarīraṃ*) of

¹ Here, and in two other cases, I have not been able to determine whether mention is made of a place or of a territory.

² Both here, and in the passage about the messengers, the Mallas of Pāvā stand last among the seven outside claimants who obtained shares of the corporeal relics. Of course, someone or other was bound to be mentioned last. But Buddhaghōṣa, taking things very literally, has made a comment to the following purport:— Considering that Pāvā was only three *gāvutas* from Kusinārā, and that Buddha had halted there on his way to Kusinārā, how was it that the Mallas of Pāvā did not arrive first of all? Because they were princes who went about with a great retinue, and the assembling of their retinue delayed them.

He has apparently not offered any explanation of a really practical point; namely, why the messenger of the Mōriyas of Pippalivana did not arrive in time to obtain a share of the corporeal relics for them.

³ Buddhaghōṣa says, in his commentary, that this sentence:— *Ēvaṃ eṭaṃ bhūta-pubbaṃ*, was established by those people who made the third Saṅgīti (who held the third “Council”). Of course, from his point of view, which was that the Sutta was written at the time of the events narrated in it.

But the sentence is, in reality, the natural, artistic complement of the opening words of the Sutta:— *Ēvaṃ mē sutāṃ*; “thus have I heard!”

Buddha measured (*in relics*) eight measures of the kind called *dōṇa*; ¹ and they say that, of these, seven *dōṇas* receive honour in Jambudīpa, India, and one from the kings of the Nāgas, the serpent-demons, at Rāmagāma.² They further say that one tooth is worshipped in heaven, and one is honoured in the town of Gandhāra, and one in the dominions of the king of Kālinga, and one by the Nāga kings.³

Buddhaghōṣa says, in his commentary, that these verses were uttered by Thēras, Elders, of the island Tambapaṇṇi, Ceylon.⁴ And they seem to have been framed after the time when there had been devised the story (which we shall meet with further on, first under the Dīpavaṃsa) to the effect that the god Indra, while retaining the right tooth of Buddha, gave up the right collar-bone to be enshrined in Ceylon. Otherwise, surely, the verses would have mentioned the right collar-bone, also, as being worshipped in heaven? On the other hand, they must have been

¹ The word *dōṇa*, *drōṇa*, has sometimes been translated by 'bushel.' But, even if there is an approximation between the two measures, there are difficulties in the way of employing European words as exact equivalents of Indian technical terms; see, for instance, a note on the rendering of one of Hsien Tsiang's statements further on.

² This statement seems calculated to locate Rāmagāma outside the limits of Jambudīpa; unless we may place it, with the usual abodes of the Nāgas, below the earth.

³ For a statement of belief, apparently not very early, regarding the localities of deposit of various personal relics of Buddha, see the Buddhavaṃsa, ed. Morris, section 28.

According to that work, the alms-bowl, staff, and robe of Buddha were at Vajirā. And in this place we recognize the origin of the name of the Vājiriyā, the members of one of the schismatic Buddhist schools which arose after the second century after the death of Buddha; see the Mahāvaṃsa, Turnour, p. 21, as corrected by Wijesinha, p. 15.

Amongst the Jains, there was a sect the name of which we have, in epigraphic records, in the Prakṛit or mixed-dialect forms of Vairā Śākhā (EI, 1. 385, No. 7; 392, No. 22; 2. 204, No. 20; 321); Vērā or Vaira Śākhā (EI, 2. 203, No. 18); Vairi Śākhā (VOR, 1. 174); Ārya-Vēri Śākhā (EI, 2. 202, No. 15); and the Śākhā of the Ārya-Vēriyas (EI, 1. 386, No. 8): and, in literature, in the Prakṛit forms of Vairi or Vayari, and Ajja-Vairā Śākhā (Kalpasūtra, ed. Jacobi, 82), with the concomitant mention, evidently as the alleged founder of it, of a teacher named Ajja-Vaira, Vayara, or Vēra (id., 78, 82). May we not find the origin of the name of this sect in the same place-name, rather than in a teacher Vajra, in connexion with whom the sect is mentioned, by a Sanskrit name, as the Vajra-śākhā (EI, 2. 51, verse 5)?

⁴ According to his text, as I have it, he does not say that they were "added by Theras in Ceylon" (trans., 135, note).

framed before the time when the tooth-relic was transferred from Kalinga to Ceylon; that was done, according to the Mahāvamsa (Turnour, 241; Wijesinha, 154), in the ninth year of king Siri-Māghavanna of Ceylon.

They are, however, useful in helping to explain an expression, *drōṇa-stūpa*, a Stūpa containing a *drōṇa* of relics, which is applied, in the story which we shall take from the Divyāvadāna, to the Stūpa of Ajātasatru at Rājagṛiha. As has been remarked long ago, the idea that each of the eight original Stūpas contained a *dōṇa*, a *drōṇa*, of relics, of course had its origin in a dim reminiscence of the part played by the Brahman Dōṇa, Drōṇa; to whom, by the way, some of the later traditions, reported by Buddhaghōsha and Hiuen Tsiang, impute disreputable behaviour, with a view to securing some of the corporeal relics, in addition to the *kumbha*.

* * * * *

Some remarks must be made here regarding the probable date and the value of the preceding narrative.

Reasons have been advanced by the translator of the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta for holding (trans., introd., 13) that the work cannot well have been composed very much later than the fourth century B.C. And, in the other direction, he has claimed (this Journal, 1901. 397) that substantially, as to not only ideas but also words, it can be dated approximately in the fifth century. That would tend to place the composition of its narrative within eight decades after the death of Buddha, for which event B.C. 482 seems to me the most probable and satisfactory date that we are likely to obtain. In view, however, of a certain prophecy which is placed by the Sutta in the mouth of Buddha, it does not appear likely that the work can be referred to quite so early a time as that.

In the course of his last journey, Buddha came to the village Pāṭaligāma (text, 60/84; trans., 15). At that time, we know from the commencement of the work, there was war, or a prospect of war, between Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, and the Vajji people. And, when Buddha was

on this occasion at Pāṭaligāma, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the Mahāmattas or high ministers for Magadha, were laying out a regular city (*nagara*) at Pāṭaligāma, in order to ward off the Vajjis (text, 62/86; trans., 18).¹ The place was haunted by many thousands of "fairies" (*dēvatā*), who inhabited the plots of ground there. And it was by that spiritual influence that Sunīdha and Vassakāra had been led to select the site for the foundation of a city; the text says (trans., 18):—"Wherever ground is so occupied by "powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most "powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places "there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in "a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and "ministers." Buddha with his supernatural clear sight beheld the fairies. And, remarking to his companion, the venerable Ānanda, that Sunīdha and Vassakāra were acting just as if they had taken counsel with the Tāvātimsa "angels" (*dēva*), he said (text, 63/87; trans., 18):—"Inasmuch, O Ānanda!, as it is an honourable place as well as a resort of merchants, this shall become a leading city (*agga-nagara*), Pāṭaliputta (*by name*), a (?) great trading centre (*putabhēdana*); but, O Ānanda!, (*one of*) three dangers will befall Pāṭaliputta, either from fire, or from water, or from dissension."²

Unless this passage is an interpolation, which does not seem probable, the work cannot have been composed until after the prophecy had been so far fulfilled that the village Pāṭaligrāma had become the leading city, the capital Pāṭaliputra.

Now, Hiuen Tsiang, in the account given by him under Rājagriha, has reported that a king Aśoka, who, so far, might or might not be the promulgator of the well-known edicts, transferred his court to Pāṭaliputra from

¹ Compare the story about the founding of Rājagriha which we shall meet with further on, under Hiuen Tsiang.

² From the use of the particle *va*, 'or,' three times, the meaning seems clearly to be that only one of the three dangers should actually happen to the city.

For the danger from fire, compare the story about Girivraja, under Hiuen Tsiang.

Rājagriha; that is, that he, for the first time, made Pāṭaliputra the capital. And, from the way in which mention is made of Pāṭaliputta in the Gīrnār version of the fifth rock-edict (EI, 2. 453, line 7), we know that Pāṭaliputra was certainly the capital of the promulgator of the edicts, Asōka the Maurya, who was anointed to the sovereignty in B.C. 264, when 218 years had elapsed after the death of Buddha.

But we know from Megasthenēs, through Strabo,¹ that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of also Chandragupta, the grandfather of the Asōka who promulgated the edicts. In his account of Pāṭaliputra itself, Hiuen Tsiang has said, more specifically,² that in the first century, or in the year 100, after the death of Buddha, there was a king Asōka (A-shu-ka), a great-grandson of Bimbisāra; and that he left Rājagriha, and transferred his court to Pātali(putra), and caused a second wall to be made round the ancient town. And the *Dīpavaṃsa*, in its first reference to Pāṭaliputta, mentions it (5. 25) as the capital of that Asōka, Kālāsōka,

¹ See McCrindle in IA, 6. 131, and *Ancient India*, 42 f.

² Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 414; Beal, *Records*, 2. 85; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 88.

As a matter of fact, not even Kālāsōka the Śāisunāga was a great-grandson of Bimbisāra. But this point is not a material one.

Except perhaps in the passage mentioned just above, from the account given by Hiuen Tsiang under Rājagriha, where Julien has left the point undetermined, and except in the present passage, Hiuen Tsiang has, in the passages which I am using on this occasion, denoted his Asōka by the Chinese translation of the name, meaning (like the Indian name itself) 'sorrowless,' which has been transcribed by Julien as Wou-yeou, by Beal as Wu-yau, and by Watters as A-yü. It was A-yü who visited Rāmagrāma, and who opened the Stūpas at Vaiśālī and Rājagriha and that in the Chan-chu kingdom over the earthen jar.

Here, however, Hiuen Tsiang has denoted his Asōka by the Chinese translation of the name, which has been transcribed by Julien as 'O-chou-kia, by Beal as 'O-shu-kia, and by Watters as A-shu-ka.

This detail is noteworthy: because Hiuen Tsiang has said in the immediately preceding sentence that it was A-yü who made the "hell" at Pāṭaliputra; and, even closely after introducing the name A-shu-ka here, he has reverted to the other, and has said again that A-yü made the "hell" (Julien, *ibid.*) and that A-yü destroyed it (418), and also that it was A-yü who built one, or the first, of the 84,000 Stūpas (417 f.).

For reasons, however, which may be stated on another occasion, it cannot be said for certain from this passage that the king Asōka who made Pāṭaliputra the capital was, at that place, expressly indicated to Hiuen Tsiang as being not the Asōka who made the hell, opened the original Stūpas, built 84,000 other ones, etc.

son of Susunāga, who began to reign ninety years after the death of Buddha; mentioning, on the other hand, (3. 52) Rājagaha (but ? rather Giribbaja) as the capital of Bōdhisa (for Bhātiya) the father of Bimbisāra.

Tradition thus seems to indicate, plainly enough, that it was by Kālāsōka, who reigned for twenty-eight years,¹ B.C. 392-365, that Pāṭaliputra was made the capital, and to make it practically certain that the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta cannot have been composed before about B.C. 375.

The Sutta may really have been written then. Or it may be of later origin; how much so, we cannot at present say.² But it is certainly a very ancient work. The narrative presented all through it is so simple and dignified, and for the most part so free from miraculous interventions—(these occur chiefly, and not unnaturally so, in connexion with the death and cremation of Buddha)—and from extravagances of myth and absurdities of doctrine and practice, that it commands respect and belief. And so, in spite of the way in which (we know) history in India was liable to be somewhat quickly overlaid with imaginative and mythical details, I see no reason for regarding as otherwise than authentic the main facts asserted in the Sutta, including those attending the original disposal of the corporeal relics of Buddha.

It follows that we may at least believe that, over the eight portions of the corporeal relics of Buddha, Stūpas were erected—

¹ So Buddhaghōṣa, in the introduction to his Samantapāsādikā; see the Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 321. So also the Mahāvamsa, 15, line 7.

Buddhaghōṣa has mentioned him as simply Asōka in that place, but as Kālāsōka in passages on pages 293, 320.

² The following suggests itself as a point that should be considered in any full inquiry.

Does the appellation of the work really mean, as has been understood, "the book of the great decease"? If so, when did the terms *mahābhikkhamana*, 'the great going forth from worldly life,' and *mahāparinibbāna*, 'the great decease,' applied to those events in the case of Buddha as against *nikkhamana* and *parinibbāna* in the case of ordinary people, first become established?

Or does the appellation indicate only "the great(er) book of the decease," as contrasted with some earlier and smaller work of the same kind?

- (1) At Rājagriha, by Ajātasatru king of Magadha.
- (2) At Vaiśālī, by the Lichchhavis.
- (3) At Kapilavastu, by the Sakyas.
- (4) At or in Allakappa, by the Buli people.
- (5) At Rāmagrāma, by the Kōliyas.
- (6) At or in Vēṭhadīpa, by an unnamed Brāhmaṇ of that place or territory.
- (7) At Pāvā, by a branch of the Mallas.
- (8) At Kuśinagara, by another branch of the Mallas.

Further, there were erected Stūpas—

- (9) At some unstated place, by the Brāhmaṇ Drōṇa, over the *kumbha*, the earthen jar in which the bones of Buddha had been collected.
- (10) At Pippalivana, by the Mauryas, over the extinguished embers of the funeral pile.

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THE MANIKIALA INSCRIPTION.

BY

H. LÜDERS, PH.D.

[From the "JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY", July, 1909.]

XIV

THE MANIKIALA INSCRIPTION

By H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.

THIS inscription has been known for a long time. The stone on which it is engraved was discovered by General Court¹ in one of the smaller Stūpas surrounding the large Stūpa at Mānikiala in the Rāwal Pinḍi District, and was afterwards sent to Paris, where it is kept now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It closed the upper opening of the relic-chamber, the incised face being turned to the interior.

In 1834 James Prinsep published a lithograph of the inscription in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. 3, p. 563, plate 33. More than twenty years afterwards a few names were deciphered by Cunningham, *ibid.*, vol. 23 (1854), p. 703, but no further progress was made until 1863, when Dowson published a tentative reading and translation in this Journal, vol. 20, p. 250 ff. The lithograph accompanying Dowson's paper was reproduced again in 1871 by Cunningham in the Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. 2, p. 160, plate 63, but his remarks on Dowson's readings (p. 163) are of little value. In 1896 the inscription was edited by M. Senart in the Journ. As., sér. 9, vol. 7, p. 1 ff. It is almost unnecessary to say that the careful and penetrating researches of the author of the *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne* greatly advanced our understanding of the record; still, as acknowledged by M. Senart himself, a good number of difficulties and obscurities remained. Some of them I hope to be able now to remove; for others I venture at any rate to offer some suggestions which, though perhaps wrong in themselves, may lead others to a final solution. It is only by steps that we can advance in this field of

knowledge, and he who fears to put his foot occasionally on less safe ground will never reach the goal at all.

As I have had no opportunity of inspecting the original stone and do not possess an impression of it, my remarks are entirely based on the two photolithographs published with M. Senart's paper. Unfortunately the plate showing the complete inscription, though excellently done, is on a greatly reduced scale, and how much the reading is impaired thereby is clearly shown by the second plate, which represents the last two lines and the beginning of the first seven lines in about double the size, and on that account is far more distinct than the first plate. If anyone would publish a larger reproduction of this important inscription, he would earn the gratitude of all scholars interested in Indian epigraphy.

In 1907 the inscription formed the subject of a correspondence between Dr. Fleet and myself, and with Dr. Fleet's permission I have included some of his observations in the present paper. A few times I have also taken the opportunity of referring to a transcript of the inscription prepared many years ago by Professor Hoernle for the intended second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and made over to me in 1905: this transcript is only a tentative one, and for the most part, of course, is superseded by M. Senart's edition, but there are some passages where I believe Professor Hoernle to have hit already the right reading.

For the sake of clearness I give first the text as read by M. Senart:¹—

- 1 bhatarā Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae
- 2 saṁ 18 spatrapurvaspa maharajasa Kane-
- 3 śkasa Guṣanavaśasamvardhaka Lala-
- 4 doḍanayago Vespaśisa chatrapasa

¹ I have altered the transliteration in accordance with that used in this Journal, and have given capitals in the case of the words taken by M. Senart as proper names.

- 5 horamurtasatasa Apanagavihare
- 6 horamurto atra nanabhagavabudhathuvam
- 7 patithavayati saha taena Vespašiena Khudaciena
- 8 Buritena ca viharakaraphaena
- 9 samvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-
- 10 šalamulena budhehi ca spavaspahi ca
- 11 saca sada bhavatu
- 12 Samdhabudhilenā savakarmigena
- 13 Kartiyasa masa divase 20.

(Line 1.) The reasons why I differ from M. Senart with regard to the arrangement of this line will be given below.

(Line 2.) M. Senart reads the syllables after the figures of the date *spatrapurvaspa*. Several years ago it occurred to me that the correct reading was *etra purvae*, and I may add that Professor Hoernle and Dr. Fleet have arrived quite independently at the same, or nearly the same, reading. Dr. Fleet proposed to take the syllables as *atra purvae* or *ae purvae*, and in Professor Hoernle's transcript they are rendered first by *spa . purvaspa*, then by *asya(?) purvae(?)*, and lastly by *etaye purvae*. Professor Hoernle thus was probably the first to recognize the true value of the character read *spa* by M. Senart, though he did not make use of his discovery for the reading of the rest of the inscription. In my opinion the reading *etra purvae* is self-evident. The words correspond to the phrase *etasyām purvāyām* or *asyām pūrvāyām*, so frequently found in various spellings in the Mathurā inscriptions during the reign of the Kuṣans. All the difficulties raised by M. Senart's reading thus fall to the ground. *Etra* is the equivalent of Pāli *ettha*. The sign with the hook to the right is apparently nothing but a variety of the ordinary sign due to current writing. Practice shows that a small hook will easily appear when the letter is written with one stroke of the pen beginning

at the top, and the engraver seems to have scrupulously followed the written draught before him.

The new reading implies a different construction of the words *maharajasa Kaneskasa*. Standing after *etra purvae* they can no longer be looked upon as part of the date, as was done by M. Senart, but must be construed with the following word *Guşanavaśasamvardhaka*. The donor thus appears to be called "a propagator of the Guşan race of the great king Kaneska", and I quite agree with M. Senart, if, on the strength of such terms as *Raghuvamśasamvardhana* for Rāma, he takes this to mean that the donor was a scion of the royal race.

(Line 4.) M. Senart reads the first word of this line *doḍanayago*, and combining it with the preceding word *Lala*, arrives at a compound *Laladoḍanayago*, which he considers to mean "the general Laladoḍa". In the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 246, I have already pointed out that the correct reading undoubtedly is *Lala daḍanayago*, the photolithograph showing distinctly that what M. Senart took for the *o*-sign is simply a flaw in the stone. That the title *daṇḍamāyaka* was known in the time of the Kuşans appears from the Mathurā inscription of Samvat 74 edited by me, loc. cit.

The next word, the name of the Chatrapa, is read *Vespaśisa* by M. Senart. At first sight the second letter of the word seems to be quite different from any known sign, but as the name occurs again in l. 7, and as there can be no doubt that there the second letter is the same as the *e* in *etra purvae*, we have to read here also *Veeśisa*. And now it will be easily recognized that what gives the *e* in *Veeśisa* its strange appearance and makes it look different from that used in *Veeśiena* and *etra purvae*, is the large loop at the bottom. That this loop again owes its origin to current handwriting is proved by the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, where we find the looped sign, e.g. in A³, l. 3; C^{ro}, l. 16; etc.

(Lines 5, 6.) These lines present considerable difficulties. M. Senart takes *horamurtasatasa* in l. 5 as one word qualifying the Chatrapa Veeśi, and *horamurto* in the next line as applying to the general Lala. *Satasya* at the end of the first word he takes to be Sk. *satvasya*. In *murta* he recognizes Sk. *mūrta*, "qui a pris la forme de . . . , incarné, réalisé"; *hora* he connects with the Iranian *Ahura*; and he thus arrives at the translation "l'image d'Ahura". Ingenious as it is, this interpretation does not satisfy. It appears to me quite improbable that such merely ornamental epithets should have been used in a dry and short record like the present one, and even if that should be the case, it would seem strange that the same epithet was given to Veeśi as well as to Lala. But there are more and even graver difficulties. The last word of l. 5 is read by M. Senart *Apanagavihare*, and explained as meaning "le *vihāra* du petit *nāga*". The whole passage then, according to him, would mean: "Lala . . . fonde ici dans le *Vihāra* Alpanāga du satrape Veeśi, cette image d'Ahura, lui-même une image d'Ahura, ce *Stūpa*, etc." It will be seen at once that, if this translation should be correct, the order of the words would be quite perplexing. *Horamurto* would be quite out of place between *Apanagavihare* and *atra*. It ought to come immediately after *Lala daḍanayago*, and *atra* also we should expect to find, not after *Apanagavihare*, but before *Veeśisa*. For all these reasons I cannot accept M. Senart's explanation of the passage, and I would offer quite a different one.

I would propose to divide *horamurtasatasa* into three words, *horamurta sa tasa*, and to read *apanage vihare* instead of *Apanagavihara*.¹ The whole sentence up to l. 7 then would run:—maharajasa Kaneṣkasa Guṣana-vaśasamvardhaka Lala daḍanayago Veeśisa chatrapasa

¹ There are some minor points where I differ from M. Senart's reading, but they do not affect the sense.

horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto etra nana-bhagavabuddhathuvam pratistavayati. This would be in English:—"The scion of the Guṣana race of the Mahārāja Kaneṣka, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Chatrapa Veeśi—he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veeśi's) own Vihāra—erects here a Stūpa for different holy Buddhas." The sentence *sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto* is one of those inserted parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,¹ and, which is more important in the present case, occur also in the Taxila Plate of Patika:² there we read:—Chahara[sa] Cukhsasa ca chatrapasa — Liako Kusuluko nama — tasa putro Pati[ko] — Takha-śilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Chema nama — atra [de*]śe Patiko apratiṭhāvita bhagavata - Śakamunisa śariram [pra*]tithaveti saṅgharamam ca.³

Assuming my division of the words to be correct, we are compelled to look upon *horamurta* in l. 5 as a nominative by the side of *horamurto* in l. 6. But I do not think that this will in any way invalidate my interpretation, as nominatives of masculine *a*-stems in *a* are very numerous in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and occur in the present record itself in *°samvārdhaka* and *Lala* in l. 3.

As regards the meaning of *horamurta*, it follows from the context that it is a term denoting some lay official in connection with the administration of the Vihāra, and this conclusion can be corroborated by evidence from another source. In the inscription A, II, of the Mathurā lion-capital, the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rājula is said to have deposited a relic, together with her mother, her paternal grandmother, her brother, her daughter, her *atra(te)nura (antahpura)*, and the *horakaparivara*. There

¹ See, e.g., Jāt. I, 278: bodhisatto nāgabalo thāmasampanno nadiyā orimatirato uppatitvā — dipakassa orato nadīmajjhe eko piṭṭhipāsāno atthi — tasmim nipatati.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

³ Mr. Thomas is inclined to look upon these phrases as derived from Persian models; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 139.

can be little doubt, I think, that the first part of the word *horamurta* is identical with the *horaka* mentioned here. Mr. Thomas¹ takes *horakaparivāra* as *horakā-parivāra* and renders it by "retinue of princesses or ladies",² but this appears to me unlikely, because the court of ladies is indicated already by the word *ateura*. Judging from the enumeration of the *horakaparivāra* in the last place, after the ladies of the harem, the word would rather seem to denote a certain class of officials of the royal household; and further, considering that we find them mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the depositing of Buddhist relics in a Stūpa, it becomes highly probable that they had to carry out some functions in relation to Buddhist worship. We thus arrive independently at the same result with regard to the meaning of *horaka*, as before with regard to that of *horamurta*. The *horaka* and the *horamurta* are officials of the same class, *horaka* being probably only an abbreviated form of *horamurta*, like *rajjuka* for *rajjugāhaka*, etc.

We next turn to the word *apanage*. M. Senart reads *apanaga*, but he has observed that there is a distinct stroke at the top of the letter. However, he refrains from reading it as *e*, as it does not go from the right to the left as usual, but in the opposite direction. I am, nevertheless, inclined to look at this stroke as denoting *e*, and I would draw attention to the word *ekaṣitimaye* in the Muchai inscription,³ where the *e* is added to the *mātrkā ya* in exactly the same way as here. As regards the meaning of *apanage*, I cannot help coming back to Dowson's opinion, although I am aware of certain difficulties involved by it. Dowson thought of taking *apanaga* as an adjective

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 140.

² In his translation of the word Mr. Thomas is guided by etymological reasons. He traces *hora* to the Iranian *ahura*. But even if this etymology should be correct, it is hardly necessary to say that it is always unsafe to assign a certain meaning to a word on etymological grounds alone.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64 and plate.

connected with Sk. *ātman* and denoting "own". In that case *apanaga*, which may stand for *appanaga* or *appānaga*, would be derived from a stem *appana* or *appāna*, which actually appears in Prakrit dialects,¹ with the suffix *ka* in the sense of "belonging to", as in Sk. *ātma-ka*, "belonging to the self," *Balhi-ka*, "belonging to Balhi;" Pali *kulaka*, "belonging to a family," *abhi-jātika*, "belonging to a race," etc. It is true I know of no other instance of the transition of *tm* into *pp* in the dialect of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kuṣān time,² but there are at least two instances of the phonetically nearly related transition of *tv* into *pp*. In the Ara inscription published by Mr. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 58 and plate, the editor reads the date of the year as *samvatsaraë ekacatari(se) sam xx, xx, i*, whereas from the photolithograph it is quite clear that the correct reading is *sambatsarae ekacapariśae sam 20 20 1*. *Ekacapariśae* would be *ekacatvārīmśe* in Sanskrit. Again, in the Kaldarra inscription we read that a tank was caused to be made *sarvasapana puyae*. Both Bühler, *Vienna Orient. Journ.*, vol. 10, p. 57, and Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 13, p. 533, translated this "in honour of all serpents" (*sarvasarpānām*); but it is very improbable that in the dialect of the inscription the *r* in *sarpa* should have been dropped if it was preserved in *sarva*, and I have therefore not the slightest doubt that Mr. Thomas is right³ in rendering it "in honour of all beings", i.e. *sarvasattvānām*. However, there remains the difficulty of assuming that *apanaga* should have been used here in the wider and secondary meaning of "own", instead of the etymological sense of

¹ See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 401.

² On the other hand, also, no counter-instance is known to me. The dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra inscriptions, where *tm* is represented by *t* (i.e. *tt*) and *tm* respectively (see Edict XII), of course, cannot prove anything in this respect, as the Aśoka edicts are more than two hundred years older than the present inscription.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 147.

"belonging to oneself". I cannot prove at present that such a development of meaning has taken place, and all I can say is that it does not seem improbable to me. At any rate, as long as no better explanation is offered, the one given by Dowson appears to me more plausible than the supposition that there existed a Vihāra "of the little Nāga".

With regard to some minor points where I differ from the readings of M. Senart, I labour under the disadvantage of not having an impression at my disposal. M. Senart reads *atra*, but it seems to me that there is a distinct hook attached to the right of the *a*. M. Senart takes the down stroke of the hook to be the prolongation of the right bar of the *ya*, but he states himself "qu'il ne fait pas rigoureusement suite à la partie inférieure". In my opinion the character is nothing but a rather ill-formed *e* of the same type as in *etra purvae*, *Veesisa*, etc.; similar forms occur in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins in C^{ro} 16, *yaea*; C^o 12, *eki*; 13, *ekada*. Besides, the reading *etra* is favoured by the fact that we have undoubtedly *etra* and not *atra* in l. 2.

The word corresponding to Sk. °*stūpam* is read °*thuvam* by M. Senart. The first character, as observed already by M. Senart, has a peculiar form, but to judge from the photolithograph, it resembles far more the ordinary *tha* than *thā*, and I should therefore prefer to read °*thuvam*.

(Line 7.) Instead of *patithavayati* I would read *prati-stavayati*, but I do so with a certain reserve. M. Senart declares that it is impossible to decide whether the engraver wrote *pa* or *pra*, but in the larger plate the latter reading seems to me more probable. The third character certainly is not *tha*, but closely resembles the *sta* occurring several times in the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital.¹ However, I think that the reading

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 146, pl. 4, Table of Aksharas. I may mention that also Professor Hoernle transcribed the character as *sta*.

stha also would not be impossible. The reading *ya* for the last but one letter is, of course, beyond doubt, and the character seems to me to be of the ordinary type. As shown above, there is no prolongation of the right bar, and the apparent stroke to the left may easily be a flaw in the stone, as pointed out already by M. Senart. Whether we have to read *taeṇa* or *taena* I do not venture to decide at present.

As regards the proper names in this line, I have noted already that instead of *Vespaṣiena* we have to read *Veesiena*. The second name is transcribed as *Khudaciēna* by M. Senart, but he himself states that he has read the second character as *ḍa* only for want of something better. The photolithograph seems to me to be rather in favour of *Khujaciēna*.

(Line 8.) The only difficult word in this line is the epithet of Burita, read by M. Senart either *viḥarakara-phaena*, or, taking the fourth letter as a variant of the supposed *spa*, *viḥarasparaphaena*. The photolithograph, however, leaves little doubt that the fourth letter is *ka*. As regards the meaning of the word, M. Senart was inclined to consider it as equivalent to the well-known title of *viḥārasvāmin*, although he was unable to offer an etymology of the second part of the compound. Later on, Professor Franke proposed¹ to read *viḥarakaraḥaena*, and to connect *karāḥaa* with a causative *karaveti* (Pāli *kārāpeti*), the existence of which is proved by the participle *karavita* found in the Kaldarra inscription. According to Professor Franke the word would mean "the founder or builder of a Vihāra or Vihāras". Professor Franke's derivation is proved by the use of the word *kārāpaka* in later Sanskrit inscriptions. In the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta (A.D. 625)² we are told that the *goṣṭhī* at Vaṭākarasthāna erected a temple of the

¹ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 112.

² *Gött. Nachr.*, 1906, p. 145; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 192.

goddess Kṣemāryā, entrusting the actual building to the *kārāpaka* Satyadeva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth. In line 15 of the stone inscription at Kaṇaswa (A.D. 738),¹ recording the building of a temple of Śiva by prince Śivagaṇa, a certain Śabdagaṇa is named as the *kārāpaka*. And in the Eklingji stone inscription (A.D. 971),² which records the erection of a temple to Laṅkuliśa, we find at the end a list of persons characterized as *kārāpakas*. From these passages it becomes quite clear, as was first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, that *kārāpaka* denotes an agent employed by a prince or a company in superintending the construction of a temple, and we can hardly be far from truth if we assign the meaning of "superintendent of the building of Vihāras" or "Vihāra architect" to the epithet given to Burita in the present inscription.

But, though the meaning of the term would seem to be settled by the reference to *kārāpaka*, the phonetical difficulties are by no means removed. The sixth letter of the word is usually transcribed by *pha*. Against this transliteration it has been rightly urged³ that there is another and quite different sign undoubtedly representing *pha*, and that both signs are found side by side, e.g. in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. The same objection holds good in the case of M. Senart's suggestion to read the sign as *bha*.⁴ There is no reason why two different signs should have been used for the same sound in the same document. These difficulties, it is true, are avoided by Professor Franke in reading *fa* instead of *pha* or *bha*, but there are other reasons why I cannot follow him. The words in which the supposed *fa* occurs are, according to Professor Franke—

1. *afai* (= Pali *ābhāti*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins B7 ;
salafu (= *salābham*), *ibid.* B20 ; 21 ; d . 1 . f . (= *dullabho*),

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 59.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. 22, p. 152 f.

³ Franke, *loc. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴ *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 12, p. 206.

ibid. C^{ro} 35; *prafaguno* (= *pabhamṅunam*), ibid. C^{ro} 3; *prafaguni*, ibid. C^{ro} 16. In all these cases the sign in question corresponds to a Sk.-Pali *bha*. Now, in itself a transition of *bh* into *f* certainly cannot be called impossible. But it is most unfavourable to Professor Franke's theory that also *bh* is written in the same words in *apalabho* (= *appalābho*) in B21 and *samādhilabhena* (= *samādhilābhena*) in B24. The voiced aspirated mute *bh* and the voiceless spirant *f* are so widely different in sound that it is quite improbable that the same word should have been written indiscriminately in either way. If we accept the *f*, we are compelled to read also the sign for *bha* as *fa*, but I think that this would not even meet the approval of Professor Franke himself. Moreover, in B13 we have *lahati* (= *labhati*). It seems to me impossible that *bh* should have developed, in forms of the same root, sometimes to *f* and sometimes to *h*. In my opinion *lahati* shows clearly that the sign in question represents an aspirate.

2. *makafa* (= *maghavā*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins A² 1. This word also seems to me irreconcilable with Professor Franke's view. Professor Franke has overlooked the important fact that the preceding letter has lost its aspiration. There is, therefore, every probability that a real metathesis of the *h* has taken place, and that the last letter represents an aspirate and not a spirant.

3. *viharakarafaena* in the present inscription. All that can be said for certain in this case is that the sign in question represents an original *p*, and I therefore do not see in how far the word can be used for proving the value of the letter.

4. *ṣefa* (= Sk. *śreyah*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins C^{ro} 7; 17; 18; 21. By the side of this form there occurs, as pointed out by Professor Franke, *ṣebha*¹ in C^{ro} 10 and, as not mentioned by him, *ṣehu* in C^{ro} 8; 19; 40, and *ṣeho* in

¹ M. Senart's reading *ṣeho* is a mistake.

C^o 9. According to Professor Franke, the transition of *y* into *f* is probably due to assimilation to the labial vowel *o* or *u* which properly stood in the neighbourhood of the *y*. But the facts hardly agree with this explanation, as the supposed *f* is found only before *a*, while before *o* and *u* we have *h* instead of it. Apart from that, the difficulty of reconciling the occurrence of *f*, *bh*, and *h* in the same word would be the same as in the case quoted above.

5. *fasuna* (= Sk. *svasṛṇām*), Mansehra Edict, v, 24, and *famīkena* (= Sk. *svāmīnā*), *ibid.* ix, 5; xi, 13, read by Bühler *spasuna* and *spamīkena*. These words may be left out of consideration, as the initial sign is totally different from the sign in question, but I may remark in passing that I do not see the slightest reason why it should be *fa* or even *pfa*. At any rate, I hope that an appeal to the laws of German children's language will not be considered sufficient to prove the transition of *sv* into *f* in an Indian dialect.

6. *Gomdofarnasa* in coin legends and *Gudufarasa* in the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription. These forms, again, cannot prove anything with regard to the true value of the sign, as foreign names would naturally be written with approximative signs in an Indian alphabet.

I regret, therefore, that I cannot accept Professor Franke's proposal, in spite of the rather violent reproach which he has lately addressed to all unbelievers (ZDMG., 60. 510 f.). I venture to suggest that the sign in question represents *vha*. The strongest argument in favour of this transliteration seems to me the word *makavha*, where, as stated above, a real metathesis of the aspirate appears to have taken place. Also the forms *avhai*, *salavhu*, *d.l.vh.*, *pravhaguno*, *pravhaguni*, will be easily intelligible if we keep in mind the frequent change between *v* and *b* in the language of the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins.¹ The transition

¹ Thus Sk. *iva* is generally represented by *va*, but by *ba* in A¹ 6; A² 4; B 28; C^o 14. Medial *p* frequently becomes *v*, and accordingly the

of *bh* into *vh* is further shown by the form *abhivuyu* (= Sk. *abhibhūya*), B 30, 31, which can be accounted for only by assuming an intermediate stage **abhivhuyu*. I think that even the strange forms corresponding to Sk. *śreyas* receive some light by reading *sevha*. We have, then, side by side, *sevha*, *sebha*, *ṣehu*, *ṣho*. The first two forms apparently are to be traced back to **ṣehva*. In the same way *hv* becomes *vh* in Pali, and further, in the middle of a word, *bbh* in Prakrit; e.g., Sk. *jihvā*, Pali *jivhā*, Pr. *jibbhā*; Sk. *vihvala*, Pr. *vibbhala*, etc. The forms *ṣehu* and *ṣho* are variants of **ṣehva* showing *samprasāraṇa*. It is therefore not due to a mere chance that in this word *h* appears before *u* and *o*, but *vh* and *bh* before *a*. In the name *Guduvhara*, *vh* was used as the sound nearest to the Iranian *f*. As regards the word *viharakaravhaena*, I would draw attention to an observation made by Professor Rapson: in vol. i of the *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 218, he has pointed out that in the Stein documents a peculiar sign, transcribed by him as *v'a*, is regularly used in the *ve* = *paya* of the causal stem; e.g. *vinñav'eti*. It must be left to future researches to determine the exact phonetical value of this character, but it seems to me highly probable that in *viharakaravhaena*, *vh* was used to express this sound. Finally, I would not omit to mention that the form of the sign also is not unfavourable to the reading *vh*, as it can be easily explained as a modification of the common sign for *va*.

(Line 10.) Here the only word that requires any comment is the mysterious *spavaspahi*. It is unnecessary to discuss the ingenious suggestions proposed by M. Senart,

enclitical *api* appears as *vi* in C^o 2; 37; but in A³ 10; C^o 7; 9; C^o 21; 32; 33, we find *bi*. The combination *rv* has become *v* in *nivana* B 35, *nivinati* A³ 1-3, but *b* in *babaka* C^o 31. Original *b* is replaced by *v* in *avalasa* A³ 15, and the form *supraudhu* A⁴ 4-9 goes back to **supravudhu* = Sk. *suprabuddham*.

as there can be no doubt that his reading was wrong, and that the last but one letter is not *spa*, but again the *e* found in *etra purvæ*. As regards the first character, M. Senart has justly remarked that it is not the same as the last but one, but consists of a vertical bar with a downward hook on each side. For the discovery of the value of this character I am partly indebted to Dr. Fleet, who asked me whether it might not be possible to read *śravakehi* instead of *spavaspahi*. I saw at once that, although the reading *śravakehi* itself was not possible, Dr. Fleet was nevertheless essentially right and that the true reading was *śavaehi*. This word, corresponding to Sk. *śrāvakaīh*, is satisfactory with regard to both meaning and grammar. The transition of *śr* into *ś* is perfectly regular in this dialect,¹ and the dropping of the *k* in the suffix is quite common. The reading *śavaehi* therefore seems to me beyond doubt, and provided that the peculiar shape of the letter is not merely caused by a flaw in the stone, which from the photolithograph would not seem impossible, we have here a new variant of the letter, probably due again to cursive writing with ink and faithfully copied by the mason.

(Line 11.) M. Senart reads this short line *saca sada bhavatu*, but Dowson, Professor Hoernle in his transcript, and Dr. Fleet, agree in reading *sachasana bhavatu*, and the photolithograph certainly does not seem to admit of a different reading. As far as I see, *sachasana* can be nothing but Sk. *sacchāsanam*, and considering that in Buddhist Pali scriptures *sāsana* is frequently used in the sense of religion or dispensation in such terms as *Jīna-sāsana*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Satthu sāsana*, we might feel inclined to assume the meaning of "true religion" for *sachasana*. The word thus would be a synonym of *saddharma*, which is a common term for the religion preached by the Buddha. The translation then would

¹ See my remarks, Arch. Surv. Ind. Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 290.

be literally :—"Through this root of bliss,¹ and through the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the true religion be." But this cannot be correct. It appears to me impossible that *bhavatu* should have been used in the sense of "let it endure" or "let it prevail". In my opinion something is required to complete the sentence, and I would propose to seek for this missing piece in the supposed first line of the record. For two reasons this line seems to be quite out of place in the arrangement accepted by M. Senart. Firstly, grammatically as well as in sense, the words *bhātara Svarabudhisa agrapatiasae* are wholly unconnected with the following text, and secondly, on the analogy of numerous similar inscriptions, we should expect the record to begin with the date. These difficulties are avoided if we suppose the engraver to have commenced with Senart's l. 2. After S. l. 7, he turned to the left and incised the next three lines. Then finding no more room, he intended to put the rest of the text (S. ll. 1, 11) on the top, but here again the space did not quite suffice; so he wrote the last two words on the very edge of the stone and topsyturvy. But, that they are to be inserted after S. l. 1, is indicated, I think, by the thick dash between °*asae* and *bhavatu*. In order to judge rightly of this apparently slovenly manner of working, it must be borne in mind that the inscription, being engraved on the inner side of the ceiling of the relic-chamber, was not destined to be read by anybody. It is certainly for the same reason that so little care was taken to polish the stone. Inscriptions of this kind are much the same as the charters which at the present time are often enclosed in the walls of public buildings.

If my arrangement should be correct, the whole phrase

¹ The exact meaning of *kusalamūla* in this phrase appears from several Buddhist inscriptions at Mathurā, where, instead of *etena kusalamūlena* we find *anena* (or *imena*) *deyadharmaparitṛyāgena*, "through this liberality in religious gifts;" see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 154 f.

would run:—etena kuśalamulena budhehi ca śavaehi ca bhataṛa Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae sachasana bhavatu. This would closely agree with the benedictory phrases used in the Wardak inscription: ¹—imena kuśalamulena maharaja-rajatiraja-Hoveśkasya agabhagae bhavatu mada-pidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me Haṣṭunamaregasya puyae bhavatu śoca me bhuya ² natigamitrasambhatigana puyae bhavatu mahiya ³ ca Vagamaregasya agabhagapatriyaśae bhavatu sarvasatvana arogadachinae bhavatu. ⁴ Similar phrases are:—(1) imena kuśālāmūlenā mātā-pitṛaṇaṃ pūjāye bhavatu, in the Buddhist Gayā inscription of Sam. 64; ⁵ (2) anena deyadharmmaparityāgena sarvveśaṃ prahanikānaṃ ārogyadakṣiṇāye bhavatu, in a Buddhist inscription from Mathurā; ⁶ (3) mātāpitṛaṇaṃ agrapratyaśātāye bhavatu, in another Mathurā inscription; ⁷ and (4) yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu mātāpitro āpāyaka-pośakacitrasya Jambudvīpasya darśayitāro agrebhāva-pratyamśātāyāstu tathā vihārasvāmīno Roṭasiddhavarddhi sarveśaṃ bhrātaraṇāṃ . . . anuttarajñānāvāptaye, in the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa Śāha. ⁸ However, there is one difference. There is no subject at all in the phrases of the Wardak, Gayā, Mathurā, and Kura inscriptions, although in the last passage we may easily supply *puṇyam* from the principal sentence. In the phrase of our inscription, on

¹ JRAS., vol. 20 (1863), p. 255 ff. and plate. The passage was read also by M. Senart, Journ. As., sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 121, but I differ from him in several points.

² These three words are doubtful.

³ *Mahiya* corresponds to Sk. *mahyam*, used in the sense of a genitive.

⁴ Similar phrases are found in the rest of the inscription, but the context is partly obscure.

⁵ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. xxv.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 155.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 390, No. 18; cf. Senart, loc. cit., p. 9.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 240. The words *agrebhāva-pratyamśātāyāstu* are a parenthetical phrase. Bühler separated the words °*pratyamśātāyās tu*. I prefer to take them as °*pratyamśātāya astu*, °*pratyamśātāya* being the Prakrit form for either °*pratyamśatvāya* or °*pratyamśatāyai*. That *agrebhāva* corresponds to *agrabhāya* in the Wardak inscription, has been pointed out already by M. Senart, loc. cit., p. 10.

the other hand, the subject would be *sachasana*. But I do not see how this might have a meaning similar to *punya*. Nor would the meaning of "true religion", suggested above, seem appropriate here. I would therefore propose to take *sachasana* in the sense of "the pious order", i.e. the order to erect the Stūpa. Perhaps we may compare a verse in the Divyāvadāna, p. 381, where the Maurya Aśoka is said to have made 80,000 Stūpas in one day by his orders:—*cakre stūpānām śāradābhraprabhānām loke sāsīti śāsad*¹ *ahnā sahasram*. But I readily admit that this interpretation of *sachasana* can by no means be called certain, and it must therefore be taken for what it is worth. Before venturing on other explanations, it would be desirable that somebody who has access to the stone itself should tell us, first of all, whether the reading *sachasana* can be relied upon.

(Lines 12 and 13.) Before commenting on the two lines to the right, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for having drawn my attention to the fact that those two lines have not been engraved by the same hand as the rest of the record. A look at the photolithograph will be sufficient to show that they are written with far less care and present more cursive forms. The recognizing of this fact is of importance also for the understanding of the two lines. They have apparently been added after the proper record had been finished, and must be taken as a supplement to the statements of the continuous text. This is easily intelligible as far as the last line is concerned. The words *Kartiyasa masa divase 20* are certainly intended to supplement the date and must be read between *saṁ 18* and *etra purvae*. And I think it can be proved that the last line also is of a similar nature.

M. Senart reads it: *Samdhabudhileṇa savakarmigena*, and, supposing that *saṁdha*^o stands for *saṁdhi*^o, translates "(gravé) par Samdhibuddhila, ouvrier en tout genre".

¹ The MSS., however, have *sāsad*, and the metre of the line is wrong.

But against the admission of such a name as *Samdhibuddhila* there are serious objections. As pointed out by M. Senart himself, *Samdhi* is found as a proper name in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 208, No. 34; and, I may add, also in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 384, No. 5; and *Buddhila* occurs, e.g., in the Sāñci inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 111, No. 2; p. 371, No. 136, and in the inscriptions F and N of the Mathurā lion-capital. But I doubt whether *Buddhila* was ever used at the end of a compound name. Being clearly a hypocoristic form, abbreviated from such names as *Svarabuddhi*, it naturally cannot be compounded again. And it must not be forgotten that the whole name of *Samdhibuddhila* rests only on a conjecture, the second syllable being distinctly *dha*, not *dhi*.

The reading and interpretation of the second word also does not satisfy. As far as I know, *sārvakarmika*, *sārvakārmika*, and similar terms, are used only in the general sense of "fit for every work", but not to denote a certain class of artisans. Secondly, the form *sava*° for *sarva*° or *sārva*° would be unusual. In l. 9, at any rate, we have *saṁvena*, and in most cases the *r* is left unchanged before consonants (*purvae*, °*saṁvardhaka*, *horamurta*, °*murto*, °*karmigena*, *kartiyasa*), the only counter-example being *sadha* in l. 9. But what is the most important point is that the first letter cannot possibly be *sa*, as it does not show the characteristic vertical line at the top found in *sa* everywhere else. I feel quite sure that it is *na*,¹ and I may add that the reading *nava-karmigena* was adopted also quite independently by Professor Hoernle and again by Dr. Fleet. Now, *saṁdha Buddhilena navakarmigena* can only mean "together with Buddhila, the superintendent of buildings", and these words are apparently intended to supplement the list of the

¹ Perhaps of the same type as in *taena* or *taena* in l. 7, but I do not venture to decide this from the photolithograph alone.

persons that assisted at the erection of the Stūpa:—saha taena Veesiena Khujaciena Buritena ca viharakaravhaena saṃvena ca parivarena sadha. According to Cullavagga, vi, 5, 2, when a layman wanted to erect a building for the use of the Order, a monk was to be appointed as *nava-kammika* to superintend the work, and it is quite natural, therefore, to find the *navakarmika* mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Stūpa.

There is, moreover, another similar inscription which mentions the *navakarmika*, the Taxila plate of Patika.¹ M. Senart and Bühler are of opinion that the name of the *navakarmika* has been quoted here as that of the writer of the record. According to Bühler the phrase runs:—mahadanapati-Patikasa jau va[ñae] Rohiṇimitrena ya imahi saṃgharame navakamika; “the victory of the great gift-lord Patika is described by Rohiṇimitra, who is the overseer of the works in this monastery”. Although Bühler states that the two bracketed *akṣaras ñae*, which are perfectly illegible in the photolithograph, are distinctly recognisable on the original plate, I doubt very much the correctness of the reading *jau vañae*. To say nothing of the supposed elision of *t* in *vañae*, which is by no means likely,² I cannot bring myself to believe that *jayo varṇyate*, literally “the victory is described”, could ever

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 54 ff.

² For the elision of the *t*, Bühler compares the elision of *k* in *sahvat-saraye* and *aḥasatatimae*, which is not the same. There would be another epigraphical example for the elision of a *t* if Mr. Banerji were right in reading *kae* (=Sk. *kṛtam*) in the Muchai inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64. But according to an impression and a photograph before me the true reading is undoubtedly *kue*, which stands for **kuve* = Sk. *kūpaḥ*; compare the Paja inscription, *ibid.*, p. 65, where, by the way, we have to read *Anandaputrena Saṃgamitrena kue karite*, not *katite*, as Mr. Banerji thinks, *karite* corresponding to Sk. *kāritaḥ*. Also, the words before and after *kue* I do not read as *sahayatena* and *vaśisugena*, but as *sahayarena* and *vaśisugana*. However, the meaning of these words would require a fuller treatment than can be given in a note. A third example would be *śaśpae* in the Mathurā lion-capital inscription A, ii, if this should really correspond to Sk. *śaśvate*, but it is hardly necessary to say that the explanation of the word is quite uncertain.

mean "the record of the great gift was drawn up". I would rather suggest to read *jauvaraye* or some other equivalent of Sk. *yauvarājye* instead of *jan vañae*. "During the time when the great gift-lord Patika was heir apparent" would be quite unobjectionable, as we know from the inscription A on the Mathurā lion-capital that the title of *yuvarāja* was used for the sons of Kṣatrapas. But, however that may be,¹ Bühler's reading certainly is very doubtful and cannot prove that the *navakarmika* was ever charged with the drawing up of the record. On the other hand, if, as already suggested, there is no verbal form on which the instrumental *Rohini-mitreṇa* might depend, it does not follow that we have to supply *likhitam*, "written by," or a synonym of it, as done by M. Senart. We may just as well supply a term denoting "made by" or "erected by", as in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 247 :—*svāmisya mahākṣatrapasya Śomdāsasya gainjavareṇa brāhmaṇena Śegravasagotreṇa p[uṣka]raṇi imāśaṁ yamaḍa - puṣkaraṇinaṁ paścimā puṣkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo stambho i . . śilāpatṭo ca*.

The last word to be discussed here is the form *masa* in the date in l. 13. M. Senart calls it irregular, and seems to look upon it as a mere clerical error for *masasa*. However, we find the same shortened form, but probably with the *y* of the genitive ending, in the date of the very carefully engraved Wardak inscription :—*saṁ 20 20 10 1 masya Arthamisiyasa stehi (?) 10 4 1*; and we must therefore conclude that it was intentionally used. As regards the explanation of the form, I would draw attention to the date of the Ohind inscription read by M. Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 130, note :—*Cetrasa masasa divase aṭhame di 8*. But from the facsimiles² there can be hardly any doubt that the

¹ The question, of course, cannot be decided without inspecting the plate itself.

² *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. 5, pl. 16; *JRAS.*, vol. 20, pl. 10.

correct reading is:—*saṃ 20 20 20 1 Cetrasa mahasa divasa aṭhami di 4 4 iśa chunami*. It seems, therefore, that the stem *māsa* became *māha*, gen. *māhasya* or *māhassa*, and further, with elision of the *h* and contraction of the two *a*-sounds, *māsyā* or *māssa*, written *masya* and *masa* in the Wardak and the present inscription.

In conclusion I give my reading and translation of the record:—

Text.

- 1 *Sam 10 4 4 etra purvae maharajasa Kane-*
- 2 *ṣkasa Guṣanavaśasaṃvardhaka Lala*
- 3 *daḍanayago Veeśisa chatrapasa*
- 4 *horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare*
- 5 *horamurto etra nanabhagavabudhaṭhuvam*
- 6 *pratistavayati saha taena Veeśiena Khujaciena*
- 7 *Buritena ca viharakaravhaena*
- 8 *saṃvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-*
- 9 *śalamulena budhehi ca śavaehi ca*
- 10 *bhatara Svarabudhisa agrapatiasae*
- 11 *sachasana bhavatu*
- 12 *saṃdha Budhilena navakarmigena*¹
- 13 *Kartiyasa masa divase 20*²

Translation.

In the year 18, on the twentieth day of the month Kārttika, on this date specified as above, the scion of the Guṣana race of the great king Kaṇeṣka, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Satrap Veeśi, —he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veeśi's) own Vihāra,— erects here a Stūpa for several holy Buddhas, together with three persons, Veeśi, Khujaci, and Burita, the architect of Vihāras, together with Buddhila, the superintendent of buildings, and together with the whole retinue. Through this root of bliss and the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the pious order (?) be for the principal share of (*my*) brother Svarabuddhi.

¹ This line is properly to be inserted after l. 7.

² This line is properly to be inserted after *saṃ 10 4 4* in l. 1.

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THE TALAING INSCRIPTION OF THE
MYAZEDI PAGODA AT PAGAN,

WITH A FEW REMARKS ON THE OTHER VERSIONS.

BY

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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THE TALAING INSCRIPTION OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA
AT PAGAN, WITH A FEW REMARKS ON THE OTHER
VERSIONS

By C. O. BLAGDEN

THE inscriptions connected with the Myazedi pagoda at Pagan, Burma, are inscribed on two pillars. One of these pillars stands within the walls of the pagoda and is four-sided, having four inscriptions of the same general purport expressed in four different languages, viz., Pali, Burmese, Talaing, and an unidentified language. The other pillar is in the Kubyaukkyi cave, to the west of the pagoda. It has three inscriptions, which are apparently replicas of those that are on the first pillar excepting the Talaing version, which (it seems) is wanting; but they are not in such a good state of preservation as are those on the first pillar.

My attention was drawn to the Talaing inscription by two references in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* for 1904, which, however, merely mention its existence and state that it has not as yet been deciphered. I must express my gratitude to various friends who have given me assistance in my attempt to decipher and translate it as set forth in this paper. Mr. David Shearme of the Burma Commission was good enough to write to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent of the Burma Archæological Survey, on my behalf. Mr. Taw Sein Ko very kindly furnished me with two photographs of the Talaing inscription, on different scales, and also with a photograph of the inscription in the unidentified language and a transcript and translation of the Pali inscription. MM. Antoine Cabaton and Louis Finot of Paris gave me much help on the linguistic and

palæographical questions that arose, and the latter was good enough to lend me two excellent rubbings (estampages), one of the Talaing and the other of the Burmese text,¹ as well as the photograph of the former from which the plate illustrating this paper was produced. But, above all, I am indebted to Mr. Robert Halliday of Ye, Burma, who took the greatest pains to go over the Talaing and Burmese texts with me, and gave me the benefit of his intimate acquaintance with these languages in their modern forms. He answered a great number of queries arising out of the difficulties of these texts, and I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to him for his invaluable assistance.

The Burmese text, short of the last ten lines, has been published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, Rangoon, 1892, p. 102, and the Pali one, also short of the last few lines, on pp. 107, 100 of the same work. An English translation of the Burmese text is given on p. 97 of *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, Translation, with Notes, Rangoon, 1899, where the above-mentioned descriptive particulars regarding the position of the inscriptions are also recorded. A French translation of the Pali text will be found on pp. 109-10 of General de Beylié's *Prome et Samara*, Paris, 1907, together with photographs of the Pali inscription and the unidentified one. I am here concerned with the Talaing text, and not with the others except in so far as they can be made to throw light on the obscurities of the Talaing version. As, however, a good many references to the Burmese text will be necessary, and as the latter has only been published in an imperfect form, I think it desirable to give here a transcript of it copied from the rubbing with the

¹ The dimensions of the rubbings (counting only the actually inscribed parts) are—(1) Talaing, height (from top of superscript letters of first line to bottom of subscript letters of last line) $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; (2) Burmese, 39×13 inches. In most parts of these rubbings the letters show up at the back of the rubbing in fairly high relief.

assistance of Mr. Halliday: being myself unacquainted with Burmese, I should not have been able to make such a transcript without such assistance, but I have carefully gone over the text with him and compared it with the Talaing version. From this comparison it appears that, though some obscure points still remain in the Burmese text, it is plainly a close parallel to the Talaing version, which was presumably a translation from the Burmese. It must be mentioned that the inscriptions were put up by a Burmese prince, the stepson of a king who was himself, according to Burmese history, the son of the great Burmese monarch Anawrata, who conquered the Talaing country about the middle of the eleventh century of our era. Accordingly the presumption is that the Burmese text must be regarded as the original draft. There are, however, a few cases of special agreement between the Pali and Talaing versions which make it probable that the author of the latter had access to and used, or perhaps himself drafted, the former.

Now the translation of the Burmese text as published is, to put it mildly, a very free translation; it tells the story very differently from the way it is told in the Talaing version, which I shall give presently. But it appears that there is no justification for any such divergence, in support of which contention I now append the Burmese text for the benefit of such scholars as are able to test the question by their own knowledge.

1. ။ ဗြိ။ နမော ဗုဒ္ဓဃ။ ပုဂ္ဂာ ထွင် သာသနာ အနှစ် တ
2. ဝိ ထောင် ခြောက် ရှာ နှစ် ဆယ် ယေတ် နှိ လောနံ
3. ဝိယံ ဗြိ ရ ကာ။ ဤယံ အရိဒ္ဓေ'နပရံ မည် သု ပြည်
4. ဇိ ကံ အာ။ ဗြိ ဩထုဂ္ဂနာဒိဿဗ္ဗေရာဇ် မည် သု ဓ

¹ The published transcript reads ဒွ. The subscript letter is, however, certainly not *dh* but a subscript form of *d* almost identical in form with the subscript *d* in the word *pandit*.

5. င် ဣဝ် အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် အေ ပါယ် မယာ တ
6. ဝ် ယောက် သု ကာ ဩလောကဝဋ်သကာဒေဝီ
7. မည် အေ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ သာ တမု² ထေဟ် ရာဇာ
8. ကုမာရ် မည် အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် ကာ ကျောန် သုံ ရှေ့ဟ်
9. တေဟ် ပါယ် မယာ အာ ပိယ် အေ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မ
10. ယာ ဣဝ်³ ခ ရ ကာ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ တန်ဆာ နှိဉ် ထိ
11. ဝ် ကျောန် သုံ ရှေ့ဟ် သု နှိဉ် ထေဟ် ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ
12. သာ အ⁴သာ ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် သော⁵ အာ မင် ပိယ် တုံ
13. အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် အနှစ် နှစ် ဆာယ် တေဟ် နှစ် မင် မူ မြီ ရ
14. ဣ⁶ အေ ထိယ် ခ မူ နာ သု ရှောင် နှိက် တေဟ်။ ထိဝ် ရာဇကု
15. မာရ် မည် ထု ပယ် မယာ သာ မိဒိ⁷ ကေဝ် မုယ် သော မင်
16. ဖြီ ဣဣော ဩကမ် ရ ကာ။ ရှုယ် အထိ သု ပုဂ္ဂာ သွင် အ
17. ဆင် ဣ ဣဣ အေ နှစ် ထိယ် ထု ရှောင် တေဟ် ဣယ် ထိ
18. အ် မိန္ဒိ အေ။ ဣယ် ရှုယ် ပုဂ္ဂာ ကာ င သွင် အဗေဒ် အထိအ် င
19. ကျောန် ပြေဉ် ထု တေဟ်။ ကျောန် သုံ ရှေ့ဟ် အထိုအ် ကျော
20. န င သွင် ပိယ် ထု သည် ကာ ဣယ⁸ ရှုယ⁸ ပုဂ္ဂာ အာ အထိုအ် ကျော
21. န ပိယ် ယေအ်။ ထိဝ် ရှောင် တေဟ် မင် နှစ် ဣဝ်⁹ ရ ကာ ကောင်

² Perhaps the original has မူ.

³ Evidently a wrong way of writing ထိယ်.

⁴ [Sic], but the rubbing is blurred here owing to damage to the stone.

⁵ So far as the letters go, this word might be read ဝော.

For ဣ. In this inscription အ subscript is used for the tonal accent . subscript. အ် final appears to be used much in the same way as in Talaing.

⁷ ဒိ would be မိ in modern Burmese, and perhaps the original has it so.

⁸ ယ is for ထိ in these two words.

22. ငွေ၌ တေဟ် ကောင် ငွေ၌ တေဟ် ဝိန္တိ ရုပ္ပိ အေ် သြြ
 23. ဓေဟ်ထေရ်။ သြြ မုဂ္ဂယိပုတ္တတိသာ ဣေရ်။ သြြ သု
 24. ဓေဝ ပဉ္စိတ်။ သြြ ဗြဟ္မပါယ်။ သြြ ဗြဟ္မဒိ
 25. ဝိ။ သြြ သောနံ။ သြြ သဗ္ဗသေန ဝရပဉ္စိ
 26. တ်။ ထိုဝ် သွင် ထိုခ် အမှောက် တေဟ် ဓင် ခိယ် သောနံ အေ်
 27. ။ထိဝ် ဗြိ ရ ကာ ထိုဝ် ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် သု ပယ် မယာ အာသာ
 28. ထိဝ် ရှယ် ပုဂ္ဂာ ထာပနာ ရုပ္ပိ အေ် ဣယ် ရှယ် အထောက် မူ သော
 29. ကု ပ္ပေါခ် အေ်။ ပ္ပေါခ် ဗြိ ရ ကာ ဣယ် ကု ပုဂ္ဂာ သြောက်
 30. သု ရှောင် ဒွိတ် တေဟ်။ သက်မုနသောနံ တစ် ရှောင်။ ရပါ
 31. ယ် တစ် ရှောင်။ ယေန်ဒိုဝ် တစ် ရှောင်။ ဣယ် ကျောန်
 32. သို ရှောင် ယာ ရုပ္ပိ အေ်။ ထိုဝ် ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် သု ပယ်
 33. မယာခ် သာ ဣယ် ကု ပုဂ္ဂာ အာ ခိယ် သောနံ ရုပ္ပိ အေ် ဣယ် ထေ
 34. ခ် ဝိန္တိ အေ်။ ဣယ် ရာ အမှောက် ကာ သရိဂ္ဂ¹⁰ညတညာ
 35. ထ် ပြဉ္စာ ရ အန္တိ နရူ အကြောင် ဣဝ် ဗိယ် တေဟ်။ ဓ
 36. နောင် အာ ဝ သာ လည်ဂောင်။ ဝ န္ဍိယ် လည်ဂောင်။ ဝ အက္ခ¹¹
 37. ယ် လည်ဂောင်။ သု တစ် ထု လည်ဂောင်။ ဣယ် ပုဂ္ဂာ
 38. အာ ငါ ထူ ခ သု ကျောန် အနိဝ် အစက¹² တေဟ် မူ မု
 39. ကာ။ အရိ ဝိတ္တိယာ ပုဂ္ဂာ သွင် အဖူ¹³ ရ ဗိယ် ။နိ။

⁹ Perhaps အ should be read အ် and belong to the preceding word.

¹⁰ In the original the ရ and the two ဝ form one letter-group, the ရ being superscript, and of course devoid of a virāma.

¹¹ Perhaps the true reading is အက္ခိ here.

¹² က is for ကိ.

¹³ The reading appears to be as given, but the letter is blurred. It might be သု, but the sense seems to require ဖူ.

The inscription uses two different forms of *th*. The first, which somewhat resembles the modern ∞, is used in ll. 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 11, and (probably) 21, where the letter is blurred. The other is identical with the form used in the Talaing text and occurs in ll. 13, 14, 23, 26, 27 (twice), 28 (three times), 32, and 37.

I cannot pretend to guarantee the absolute faithfulness of this transcript, especially as the original is somewhat defective, particularly at the ends of the last four lines. But it is certainly closer to the original than the published one, in which the spelling has been somewhat modernized.

The Pali inscription tells the same story as the Burmese and Talaing, but in a somewhat more flowery and poetical way, introducing epithets and minor descriptive points that are not to be found in the Talaing and Burmese texts. I have not compared Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript with any photograph or rubbing of the original. A comparison of it with the transcript published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, 1892, does not throw any additional light on the difficulties of the Talaing text. But the following should be added to the published Pali version in order to complete it (I copy from Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript; the first two lines are incomplete and slightly different in the published text) :—

tato so tañ mahāmacco bimbañ sovaṇṇayañ subhañ,
patitthāpiya kāresi guhañ kañcanathūpikañ.
katvāna maṅgalañ Buddha-patimāya guhāya ca,
akās' evaṃ panidhānañ nibbinno bhavaśaṅkate :
karentena mayā etañ yañ puññañ tañ samācitañ,
hotu sabbaññutañāṇaṃ pativedhāya paccayo.
yatthakā tu mayā dāsā gāmataya-nivāsino,
dinnā guhāya sovaṇṇa-patimāya mahesino.
putto me vā paputto vā añño vā pana ñātako,
yo koci pāpasamkappo naro asaddha-mānaso,
kareyy' upadduvañ tesañ dāsānañ so narādhamo,
Metteyya-dipa-dinnasa dassanañ n'adhigacchatū ti.

The following is the transcript I propose for the Talaing text :—

1. || śrī || namo Buddhāya || śrī || sās kyek Buddha tiley
2. kuli ār moy lñim turow klañ bār cwas dijhām cñām
3. tuy || dey dui Arimaddanapur te' smiñ Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
4. -tyadhammarāj das || gnakyek smiñ gohh moy Tri-
5. -lokawaṭamsakādewī imo' || kon gnakyek goh-
6. -h Rājakumār imo' || smiñ gohh kil ñik pi twā-
7. -ñ ku gnakyek gohh || kāl gnakyek gohh cuti
8. ār || a-ut kiya gnakyek goh ku ñik pi twāñ goh
9. smiñ tun kil ku kon gnakyek ma imo' Rājaku-
10. -mār goh || smiñ gohh kmiñ bār cwas dijhām cñām tuy
11. kāl smiñ goh ajey ñan scuti || kon gnakyek ma i-
12. -mo' Rājakumār goh mibas guñ ma smiñ ijhim
13. jiku kinnañ kyek thar moy ār tubok smiñ mu-
14. -nas row te' || kyek thar wo' ey ñik par
15. pā' tīla ñik pi twāñ ma tīla kil ku ey gohh
16. ey ñik kil ku kyek wo' tīla anumodanā da'
17. || kāl goh smiñ sñik garōe ma' thic ā thic ā smiñ sañ
18. sādhu kār || kāl gohh tīla poy Mhāther || tita-
19. -r Muggaliputtatissa t-her || titar Sumedha pañdit || ti-
20. -tar Brahmāpāl || titar Brahmadiw || titar Son
21. || titar Sāghasena warapañdit || kinta tīla
22. ta goh smiñ cut ñek han ti || blaḥ goh kon gnakye-
23. -k ma imo' Rājakumār goh ket kyek thar goh
24. thāpanā kannañ guoh clon thar te' || kāl būsac kye-
25. -k guoh te' kon gnakyek goh ket Sakmuna-
26. -lon moy twāñ || Rapāy moy twāñ || ñaḥ gin u-
27. -p moy twāñ || a-ut ñik pi twāñ goh cut ñek ku
28. kyek thar ma thāpanā hin goh te' rādhana row te'
29. || sinrañ e' te' or das het ku gwo' sarwwañuta-
30. -ñāñ || kon ey laḥ || cow ey laḥ || kulo
31. ey laḥ || ñaḥ c-eñ laḥ || yal par upadrow ku ñi-
32. -k ma ey kil ku kyek wo' yañ ñir ñac kye-
33. -k trey Mettey laḥ or ñek go' || O ||

As will be seen by looking at the plate illustrating this

article, the Talaing inscription (taken as a whole) is very legible. But there are a few puzzles in it. The script of the Burmese, Pali, and Talaing texts is the same, that of the unidentified text a different one. I am not competent to go into a technical discussion of the palæographical characteristics of these scripts. So far as the former is concerned, an inspection of the plate with the help of a magnifying glass will do more than I could do by pages of description. I would merely draw attention to the importance of this script as a stage in the local development of the Indian alphabet, and point out the singular and complex beauty of the characters used for *jh*, *ñ*, *ḍ*, and the initial form of *o*. Almost the entire alphabet is illustrated in these inscriptions, and extracts from them would make very good illustrations for some future textbook on the palæography of Burma.

In this transcript I follow the system recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society except in a few minor details. I write *w*, not *v*, as the letter is pronounced *w*. For a final *ṣ*, which indicates the abrupt ending¹ of the preceding vowel and is not sounded as a separate syllable, I put '. My *˜* represents the symbol *ṣ*, which is nowadays sometimes used for *ñ* and is written on the top of the consonant that follows. I write it *˜* in order to distinguish it from the ordinary *ñ*, and also because I am doubtful whether it was really pronounced as an *ñ* or merely effected a slight nasalization of the preceding vowel. In the proper name *Sāghasena* it represents *ñ* (the Pali text has *Samghasena*), but it may have been pronounced *ñ*, as it would be in modern Talaing. In the word *kīyā* I do not see what it can stand for, except mere nasalization of the vowel (for which I can suggest no particular etymological

¹ Caused (I suspect) by quickly closing the glottis; cf. Malay *-k* and Arabic *hamzah*. It sometimes gives a peculiar quality to the vowel that precedes it. Final *w* in Talaing is not pronounced either, but also affects the preceding vowel.

reason). In the other cases in which it occurs it may perhaps really stand for *n*. My *b* represents the peculiar Talaing letter *ḡ*, which is said to sound something between a *b* and a *p*. To my ear it sounds something between *b* and *w* and is slightly nasalized. Besides this *b* there is another form of *b*, *ḡ*, which is rather rare and does not occur in our text.¹ I note that in this inscription *ḡ* is written in the Burmese form *ḡ*, not the Talaing form *ḡ*.

This inscription was written over eight centuries ago; Mr. Taw Sein Ko informs me that its palæographical character agrees with the date mentioned in it (= 1085 A.D.). It is therefore not surprising that its language differs very considerably from the modern forms of Talaing, and it seems desirable to explain it in detail, so far as I am in a position to do so, by comparing the words with their modern equivalents. For this purpose I shall follow (except when otherwise stated) the pronunciation used at Ye, the southernmost part of the Talaing country, as explained to me by Mr. Halliday, who has resided there for many years. There are many local dialectic differences in Talaing as spoken nowadays, and the phonetic system of the language is very far away from the spelling. Thus we shall have in the spelling of our inscription, the usual modern spelling and the actual modern pronunciation, three distinct stages representing more or less faithfully the historic evolution of the language.²

In modern Talaing the sonants (*g*, *gh*, etc.), with the exception of *d* and *b*, sound to the ear as surds. But they are accompanied in their enunciation by some peculiar action of the glottis or vocal chords which has a modifying influence on the vowel that follows. The nasals, except *n*, exercise the same modifying influence, and so do *y*, *r*,

¹ But *v. infra*.

² I shall not attempt to enlarge upon this subject here, and I merely introduce it as necessary evidence in support of my reading of this inscription, but I hope to discuss it in greater detail elsewhere.

l, *w*, and the secondary form ḡ of *b*. The *ḍ* is a true cerebral, but is not as fully resonant as our sonants, though to my ear it sounds more like *ḍ* than like *ṭ*. It does not modify the following vowel like the sonants. Nor does *b* or any of the other letters. The *c* and *j* are pronounced *č*, that is, between our *ch* (English "church") and our *ts* (English "its"). The final *-t*, when it represents a final *-k* of the written language, sounds to my ear like a checked (or half-) consonant, there being no audible off-glide. Both final *-h* and the visarga (*-ḥ*) have the sound of a strong *-h*, almost the Arabic ح (but not ح). I can hear no difference between them as consonants, but they have different effects on the preceding vowel. When giving the modern pronunciation I shall write both *-h*. Guttural finals, it will be noticed, also modify the preceding vowel.

As a consequence of all this the modern vowel-system of Talaing is a most complex affair. I have done my best to draw up a scheme for it which, it is to be hoped, will suffice for the present purpose at any rate.¹ There being many different shades of vowels which it is necessary to distinguish by diacritical marks, I put a : after a vowel which is decidedly long, leave ordinary short vowels without this :, and retain the ' for the abruptly ending vowels. The vowels appear to me to be as follows (I give the long forms preferably, as they are easier to distinguish, and I believe the short ones correspond with them pretty exactly):—

a:, as *a* in English "father" (but perhaps more open).

æ:, nearly as *a* in French "cage".

è:, as *è* in French "père" (almost as *ai* in English "fairy", but not quite so open, I think).

¹ I must point out that, as my opportunities for recording these sounds have been very limited, this scheme must be regarded as tentative. I have, however, done my best to make it a correct representation of the Talaing sounds as pronounced by my friend Mr. Halliday.

e:, as *eh* in German "zehn" (almost as *ey* in English "obey", but a closer and purer *e*).

i:, as *i* in English "machine".

æ:, nearly as *ur* in English "cur", but further back, I think. (There is, of course, no *r* sound in it.)

ö:, closer than the last, but not so close as *ö* in German "König"; rather like *ö* in German "öffnen" would be if lengthened.

â:, something like *aw* in English "law", or *a* in English "fall", but less definite and more mixed (lying somewhat nearer to *æ*: and *æ*: than the English sound does).

ò:, an open *o*, closer than the *aw* of English "law"; practically identical with the *o* of French "pot" if the latter were lengthened.

o:, a very close *o*, as in some Scotch words, rather closer, I think, than the *oh* in German "Sohn" (as compared with the *o* in English "bone" it is decidedly closer and a rounder and purer *o*).

u:, as *oo* in English "moon".

The two following are very short always:—

a as the last *a* in English "Africa".

e as the *e* in English "belong".

Some of these vowels combine to form diphthongs,¹ in which the first element seems to be always the principal one.

It is not necessary to mark the stress-accent of words, as this appears to fall normally on the last syllable always. When, however, the preceding syllable contains a long vowel it seems to receive a secondary stress, thus almost cutting the word into two monosyllables, e.g. *kāla* is pronounced *kā: lá*. The same thing is done with polysyllables, secondary accents being distributed pretty evenly

¹ When two vowels come together in my phonetic spelling of Talaing they are meant to be read as a diphthong, forming one (very long) syllable. In other cases I insert a hyphen between them.

among the various syllables, except the decidedly short ones, of any long word.

After this tedious but necessary digression I return to the inscription.

Line 1. The first four words, of course, are not Talaing. The use of the Sankrit form *śrī*, the initial letter of which no longer occurs in the normal Talaing alphabet, is paralleled by several other words in this inscription (including some of the proper names) in which Sanskrit, or mixed, forms are used instead of Pali ones. At the period when the inscription was written a Sanskrit-using form of Buddhism had recently been superseded by a Pali-using form. Many words of Sanskrit form are still current in modern Talaing and Burmese. *Sās* = "religion" (Sanskrit *śās*, *śāsa*, "command"), no longer found in modern Talaing, survives in Cambojan (*sas*, written *sās*). *Kyek* = ကျေ,¹ *kyāk* = *kyā:it*,² "an object of worship," and specifically, in our inscription, "Buddha" and a statue of the Buddha. It is frequently used for "pagoda" in other texts. *Buddha* = ဗုဒ္ဓ, *Buddha* = *Putthè*, "Buddha," here of course Gotama. *Tiley* I take to be an irregular spelling of *tila ey* (*tiñla ey*) = တီလော့ အေ, *tila ai* = *twila*³ *ò:a*, "my lord." The stone is somewhat damaged here, but the *i*, *e*, *l*, and *y* are clear in the rubbing, and I think there is reasonable certainty as to the ~ and the *virāma*. The interpretation, is, however, subject to some doubt.

Line 2. *Kuli* = ကုလိ, *kali* = *kēlāi*, "to elapse," "to pass." *Ār* = အာ, *ā* = *a:*, "to go." The two words must

¹ Abbreviation of ကျေဝေ.

² Pegu pronunciation *kyā:it*, Martaban-Maulmain *kyā:ik*, according to Haswell (ed. Stevens); but I suspect the final is a mere checked or half-consonant. I have so heard it myself pronounced by a Talaing. In all these cases I put the forms in the order: (1) inscription, (2) modern spelling, (3) literal transliteration of modern spelling, (4) modern pronunciation.

³ Almost *tāila* (by rule one would expect *tā.ila*).

be taken together to mean lapse of time;¹ cf. the Burmese equivalent ငဝဝနံ ဝိဝဏ်. The words are quite clear on the rubbing, though they do not show up very distinctly on the plate. *Moy* = မွဲ, *mwai* (the *w* is merely a conventional device for writing *u* (or *ū* or *o*) and the *ai* replaced the old *y* not many generations ago) = *mu:ā*, "one." *Lñim* = ငနီ, *lñim* = *lənim* (the *i* sounds to me between long and short), "thousand." *Turow* = တရဝ, *tarau* = *tera:o*, "six." *Klām* = နှလံ, *klām* = *klām*, "hundred." *Bār* = ဝေ, *bā* = *ba:*, "two." *Cwas* = ငဝဝဝ, *coh* = *co:h*, "ten" (in combination here to make "twenty"; "ten" alone is written ဝနီ, *cah* = *cāh*). *Dijhām* = ဒဝိဝ, *dacām* = *teca:m*, "eight." *Cnām* = နှဝိ, *snām* = *senā:m*, "year." Cambodian has *chhñām* (written *chnām*).

Line 3. *Tuy* = တွဲ, *tuai* = *taui*,² a word denoting the past tense (= Burmese ဖြဲ ခ ဝေ). *Dey* I take to = ဒဲ, *pdai* = *peð:ā*, "in." A preposition with this sense is required here (cf. Burmese နီဝံ ဒေ), but I am not prepared to say whether *dey* represents the original root of the word or is simply a colloquial abbreviation; it is often colloquially abbreviated *ð:ā* in modern speech. *Duñ* = ဝုဏ်, *duñ* = *ðæñ*, "city" (also used for "country, kingdom", cf. Burmese ဝုဏ်). Both here and in the preceding word the stone is damaged, but the context makes the reading certain. As to the spelling of the next word, *Arimaddanapur* (= Pagan), the same remarks apply as on the Burmese spelling, which is identical. (The first *d*

¹ One would naturally suppose that it was the years that elapsed, but if *cnām* be taken as the subject, *sās* is left out of the construction of the sentence. Possibly the order has been influenced by the Burmese original. But I think the clause can be understood to read "after the religion of our lord Buddha had been going on for 1628 years". Anyhow the meaning is not affected by these details of construction.

² Haswell (ed. Stevens, 1901), my authority for the spelling in the native character, gives the pronunciation *to:e*: (dialect not stated; either Pegu or Martaban-Manlmain, I suppose), but Mr. Halliday distinctly gave me *tu:i* as the Pegu sound.

in this word, and also the corresponding one in *Buddhāya* and *Buddha*, are turned off to the right instead of to the left (like a reversed 3), apparently because there is a subscript letter under them.) The virāma is clear. *Te'* = 𑀢𑀺𑀭, *ten* (the anusvāra here is a mere device of writing, and a very objectionable and confusing one, for 𑀢𑀺 = ') = *te'*, "that;" the word is constantly used with no more force than our definite article "the". I must point out here that there is another demonstrative used in our text, viz. *wo'* = 𑀺𑀭, *wwan* (really *wo'* or *wu'*, for the subscript *w* is again merely a conventional way of representing *o* or *u*, and the anusvāra again stands for 𑀢𑀺) = *wu'*, "this." These two demonstratives, as spelt in our text, are extremely difficult to distinguish from one another; spelt in modern characters in the ancient way they are 𑀺𑀭𑀢𑀺 and 𑀺𑀭𑀢𑀺. In l. 16 the true reading is certainly *wo'*, and I think also in ll. 14 and 32, though these two are perhaps nearer in appearance to *te'* than they are to the unmistakable *wo'* of l. 16. I am half inclined to read *wo'* in ll. 24, 25, 29 (and possibly even in l. 3 and the middle of l. 28), but I leave *te'* there in my transcript as it would require a minute inspection of the stone itself to decide the point, and the words look on the whole more like *te'*. *Smin* = 𑀺𑀭𑀢 (usually abbreviated 𑀺𑀭), *smiṇ* = *hmo:in* (the *h* aspirates or just precedes the *m*, but does not add a syllable; the final is pronounced as an English dental *n*, "dropping the *g*," as the common phrase puts it), "king" (also used for princes, governors, and minor officials nowadays).

Line 4. The virāma at the end of the king's long name is clear. *Das* = 𑀢𑀺𑀭 (usually written 𑀢𑀺), *dah* = *iḍh*, "to be."¹ *Gnakyek* (evidently a compound of some

¹ I do not think this means that "there was" a king, which (in modern Talaing at any rate) would require the word 𑀢𑀺𑀭, but that the king at the time was Ś.T. or that Ś.T. was king at the time. Perhaps *smiṇ* should be understood after *das*; cf. the Burmese 𑀢𑀺𑀭 𑀢𑀺𑀭. Mr. Halliday says it is good Talaing as it stands, and translates it "King Ś.T. was king".

obsolete word meaning "woman" or "wife" (cf. Sakai *kēna*, Sēmag *kēnē*, etc.) with *kyek*) = ဓနုဓ, *gnakyāh* = *kēnēkyāit*, "queen." *Gohh* = ဝဓ (written ဓ), *gah* = *kòh*, "that" (used like *te* with little more force than our definite article). The spelling, with both *h* and *h*, is remarkable (but cf. *nūhh*, l. 26) and is not consistently adhered to; our inscription more frequently spells the word *goh*. The *o* at the end of the line is merely an unintelligent anticipation of the *lo* that begins the next one; cf. the similar case at the end of l. 25.

Line 5. *Imo* = ဓဉ, *ymu* = *yemu*, "name." In our text the word appears to be used as if it were a verb "was named". *Kon* = ဝဓဓ, *kon* = *kōn*, "child," "son" (in this case).

Line 6. The *virāma* at the end of Rajakumār's name is clear throughout the inscription. *Kil* = ဓဓ, *kuiv*¹ = *kæ*-, "to give"; here "gave" (we should in English have written "had given", as the event clearly happened some time before the circumstances which led up to the making of the inscription, but the Talaing is simpler and less precise). *Dik* = ဓဓ, *dik* = *dāit* (Martaban-Maulmain *dāik*, Pegu *dik* according to Haswell-Stevens), "slave." *Pi* = ဓ, *pi* = *pāi* (Pegu *pi*), "three." *Twāñ* = ဓဓဓ, *twān*; ဓဓဓ, *kwān* = *kwan* (Haswell-Stevens *kwa:n*), "village." I take this word to be here used as a sort of numeral coefficient with "slaves", literally "slaves three villages" (or "villagefuls"), i.e. in English "three villages (or village-communities) of slaves", not "the slaves of three villages". Evidently these were villages held by their inhabitants on a servile form of tenure.

Line 7. *Ku* = ဓ, *ku* = *kæu*, "to." *Kāl* (Sanskrit *kāla*, "time"), "when" (here and ll. 11, 24), "time" (l. 17).

¹ I transliterate thus merely because the symbol ဓ looks like *ni*, though it was certainly never sounded thus, and may have had a quite different origin. I believe its former sound was something like *ō*.

Modern Talaing, which admits no final *-l*, uses ဘာဝ, *kāla* = *ka:la*, Cambojan has *kal* (written *kāl*), in the same senses. *Cuti* = ငုတိ, *cuti* = *caṭṭāi*, "to die" (Pali *cuti*, "disappearance, death").

Line 8. *Ār* (v. l. 2) goes with the preceding word (*ut supra*), the compound expression meaning "died". *A-ut* (so transliterated to show that it is no diphthong, the subscript letter being the initial form of *u*) = အိုတ်, *uit* = *ā:t* (almost *æt*; Pegu *ait*, nearly), "all" (the word is used variously as the particle of the superlative degree, and to mean "wholly expended"). *Kīyā* I take to be the same word as modern ကြိယာ, *kriyyā* = *krāiṣya:*, "any article of furniture or dress" (better "appurtenances", generally; the word is given in the Burmese dictionary as ကရိယာ or ကြိယာ with the meaning i.a. of "appendages", "utensils", and I take it to mean here "chattels", as opposed to the slaves and villages).¹ How it is to be connected in sense with Sanskrit *kriyā*, "action," "means," or Pali *kiriṣyā*, *kriyā*, "action," "work," I do not quite see. The meaning in our text is illustrated by the Burmese (l. 10) equivalent ဝန်ဆာ, "ornament," "utensil," "appendage," etc. I suppose it refers mainly to the queen's jewels; the translator of the Burmese confines it to this meaning, but I do not see why it should not include all her personalty. Curiously enough, the Pali version makes no reference whatever to these "appurtenances". *Ku* (v. l. 7) here means "together with" (Burmese နှင်း). *Dik* has no *virāma* in the original here.

Line 9. *Tun* = တုန, *tun* = *taun*, an assertive affix (said by Haswell-Stevens to be now archaic or obsolete). *Ma* is used throughout this inscription as a true relative. It does not occur as such in the modern language, though

¹ Cambojan has *kreia* (written *krayā*), "substance; aliments; enjou, gage."

the prefix *ma*, which is used before verbs to give them a participial force, is probably derived from it; e.g. မြတ် ဝေဇ် ဝိ, "the men remaining" (Haswell-Stevens, p. 23), means "the men who remain (*or* remained)". Apparently, in modern Talaing, it must immediately precede (and coalesce with) the verb, but this is not the case in our text; see especially ll. 12, 15, 32. According to rule, *ma* would be pronounced *mè* in the Ye dialect.

Line 10. *Kmin* = ကမိန, *kmin* (not in Haswell-Stevens) = *kemèn*, "to rule, to reign."

Line 11. After *goh* in this line occurs the first real crux of our text. The stone is damaged and the letters are not clear. Up to the punctuation mark || just before *kōn* are several words, which taken together have got to mean "was mortally sick", or something of that kind. The Pali has *māraṇ' antikarogassa vasaṇ patte narādhīpe*, according to Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript. The Burmese (l. 14) apparently reads ဝိတ် ခ ခု နာ သု ရှေ့ဝိ နှိတ် ထေဝိ. The Talaing reading suggested in my transcript is *ajey ñan scuti*. There are, however, the following difficulties in connexion with it. In the first place, it looks as if a letter (which, however, could only be a small one, such as *r* or *n*) had perished just after the virāma of *goh*; but there is no room for the usual form of *h*, so unless it was a shorter form the supposed lost letter is unaccounted for. The reading *ajey* assumes that the much battered upper letter was an *a*, which is not certain though it looks more like it than anything else I can think of, and that the subscript letter is *j*. This would be an unusual way of writing, though I see that Haswell-Stevens give the word အှေ့ဝိ, *anap*, with a subscript *n* under an initial *a*, so the thing is not impossible. But our supposed *j* is not quite identical in form with the subscript *j* in the Burmese (l. 16) ခုခေတ္တ, though it is pretty near it. It might conceivably be *n*. Again, there is no warrant for making the word

a dissyllable. The modern supposed equivalent is \tilde{o} , *yai* = *yò:a*, "to be ill," "disease," and the only excuse for assuming that the *y* represents an older *j* is that the word recurs with a *j* in numerous cognate languages (Bahnar, Sédang, etc.). *Ñan* is supposed to be ညောန်, *ñon* = *ño:n*, "near." But it must be admitted that the word looks more like *ñah*; only then we should have no use for the *virāma*, which is certainly there (placed a little to the right of its normal position on account of the subscript *-m-* of the word *kmin*; cf. the *virāma* of the *-n* of that word, l. 10). So I think the word must be *ñan* after all. *Scuti* would be a not unusual way of writing, though strictly one would expect *sacuti*. I do not know whether this is a possible Pali formation from *cuti* (as to which word see l. 7), but there is an obsolescent Talaing prefix *sa-* (of doubtful force) which might account for the form. The suggested meaning of the proposed reading would be "was sick (*or* fell sick) well-nigh unto death" (lit. "near dying").

Line 12. After *goḥ* in this line occurs the next difficulty. The following letter-group is certainly *mi*, but after that there is some doubt till we get to *gun*. The letter that follows *mi* is much battered. It might stand for *w* or *c* or two *n*'s side by side (which would be most unlikely), for *rn*, or for various other things. My own view is that it is none of these, however. The next letter-group I took at first for two *r*'s, but a careful inspection of the back of the rubbing has convinced me that it is an *s*. It has a well-defined *virāma* over it. I think this gives the clue to this puzzle, over which I have spent many hours. The true reading requires a word ending in a final *-s*. Therefore the mark over the preceding letter cannot be another *virāma* (as I had been inclined to think), but must be either an *anusvāra* or a merely accidental chipping of the stone. As I see no use for an *anusvāra* in a closed syllable ending with *-s*, I am disposed to think the mark

is accidental, though it is rather a deep one. I take the letter under it to be a much disfigured *b*, and read the whole word *mibas*, but I concede freely that it might be *miwas*¹ (or, if the anusvāra is insisted on, *mibams* or *miwams*; if so, the only effect of the anusvāra would be to modify the vowel, for Talaing does not admit of a combination of consonants at the end of a word, and pretty certainly never did). I take this suggested *mibas* to represent ဗေဝ်, *mabaw* = *mepōh*, with the sense of "remembering". We want that sense here; the Pali has *saranto dhammarājassa mahantagūṇa sañcayam*, the Burmese has ဩဝ်မိ ခ် ဝာ (= modern အောင်ဇေဝ်). Accordingly I have little doubt that *mibas* bears this meaning. I take the first syllable to be identical with the modern participial prefix *ma* (and perhaps with the relative *ma* used in this inscription, though that is not certain, of course); for the difference in spelling cf. *kinnaṃ* (l. 13) with *kannaṃ* (l. 24). The word ဗေဝ် in modern Talaing means "to read", no doubt originally "to remember (or recognize) what has been written" (cf. the Greek equivalent). But its compounds ဗေဝ် ညွာ and ဗေဝ် ဗျာဝ် still mean "to remember", so I think that must have been the original sense of the simple ဗေဝ်. *Gun* = ဂုန, *gun* = *kun*, "grace," "favour," "kindness" (Pali *gūṇa*). The Burmese has another word (ဂွဉ္ဇေဝ် = modern ဂွဉ္ဇေဝ်), and this is one of the cases that lead me to infer that the Talaing translator, though he followed in the main the Burmese draft, took a few hints from the Pali version also. *Ijhim* (the reading is clear) I take to mean "to feed", "to nourish"; cf. Cambodian *chānhchēm* (so spelt by Aymonier, i.e. *cañcēm*, written *cañcim*),

¹ Conceivably there may be yet another explanation; for aught I know the mysterious letter might be an old form of ဓ (the secondary form of *b*), of which I do not know the eleventh century shape. But one would expect it to be a modified *m*, like the modern form.

"nourrir, élever," Bahnar *sem, siem* (written, in Annamese fashion, *xem, xiem*), "donner à manger, nourrir." For the correspondence of *jh* and *c* cf. *dijhām* (l. 2). I find the word in modern Talaing only in its derivative နှိ,¹ *phyuim* = *phyā:m* (very open *ā*, verging towards *e* and *a*), "to feed" (in a particular way, in which mothers feed their very young children, viz. by chewing up the food themselves and then putting it into the child's mouth). That the word in our text bears the general sense of "to nourish", "to foster", derived from the meaning of actual "feeding", is confirmed to my mind by the Burmese equivalent phrase (l. 15) ခြံ့စေ့ပုံ နှိ နှိ နှိ, where နှိ = modern နှိ, "to feed," "nourish," "cherish," "bring up."

Line 13. *Jiku* (*jiñku*) = နှိ, *jaku* = *cekæu*, "self," "himself." I take this with what precedes to mean "Rajakumār, remembering the favours wherewith the king had nourished (*or* fostered) him (*jiku*)". The Burmese (I am told by Mr. Halliday) means "remembering the favours of the king who had nourished him", which would require the order of *ma* and *smiñ* in l. 12 of the Talaing text to be interchanged if this precise meaning is to be got out of the Talaing words. But that is hardly necessary. *Jiku* = Burmese ခြံ့ (= modern ခြံ့). *Kinnam* = နှိ, *kanham* (the *h* is a mere device of writing to show that the *n* in this case is not to have the modifying effect of a sonant on the following vowel) = *kenām*, "to make" (especially used in connexion with the building of sacred edifices). The tail of the subscript *n*, both here and in l. 24, is rather long and one might perhaps read *kinnun*, but I believe *kinnam*² to be what is written. *Kyek* (v. l. 1) here = "statue of Buddha".

¹ Abbreviation for နှိ.

² Unless the subscript letter can be read as a variant form of subscript *h*, for which I have no authority in support.

Thar = $\infty\delta$, *tharw* = *thò:*, "gold," here "golden". *Ār* = "went" (v. l. 2). *Tubok* is clear, so far as the reading goes, but its interpretation depends on what we make of the word *munas* at the end of this line and the beginning of the next. If *munas* can be taken as a verb meaning "spoke", "saying", or something of that kind (= Burmese မူန), then *tubok* may represent the modern $\infty\infty\text{ဒ}$, *thabāh* = *thēbāh*, "to show," and the sentence would mean "went and showed it to the king and spoke thus". On the other hand, *tubok* may be a variant of the word which in modern Talaing is $\infty\infty\infty\infty\delta$, *labok* = *lēbok*, "to worship," with the meaning "to address reverentially". The Pali verse describing the whole transaction reads *gahetvā taṃ mahantena sakkārena sumānaso, upasaṅkamma rājānaṃ āha cintitaṃ attano*, and see ll. 17, 18 of the Burmese text. In that case *munas* might (though one would expect *manus*) = မူန , *mnih* = *menih*, "man," and the expression *smiṇ munas* would = "king of men", the sentence meaning "and went and reverentially addressed the king of men thus". Conceivably *munas* might be the old form of မူန , *mnah* = *menēh*, pronoun of the 2nd person; but I cannot think it likely that the king would be spoken of as "your king" in this context. I can give no evidence in support of the use of *munas* or *smiṇ munas*, and the whole thing is a pure conjecture. I offer the alternatives for what they may be worth.

Line 14. *Row* = ရ , *rau* = *rè:æ*, "fashion," "manner," "like" (not in Haswell-Stevens), used in combination with *te'* (v. l. 3) to mean "thus", cf. l. 28 (= Burmese တူဝ် ဝိဒ်). As to *wo'*, see remarks on *te'* (l. 3). *Ey*, "I" (v. l. 1), in combination with *dik* (v. l. 6), is the submissive or respectful form of the pronoun of the 1st person singular. *Par* = ∞ , *pa* = *pa*, "to do," "to make," here = "have made".

Line 15. *Pā'* (for which I can find no exact modern equivalent) must be a preposition meaning "for", "on

behalf of". The Pali has *bhāgam katvān'idam satthu-bimbari sovaṇṇayaṇi subham, akāsi vo varam puññaṃ sāmi tumhe 'numodatha*. I find in Haswell-Stevens a preposition ခ, *phā*, "with," and a noun ခ, *phā*, "side," as well as a verb ဝ, *pā*, "to be in company with others." Perhaps the Burmese equivalent အဝိသိ may be compared with *pā*'; but I doubt it.

Line 16. *Anumodanā* = အနုမုဒဒနာ, *anumodanā* = *anumotènè*:, "approval" (Pali), "an expression of approbation to one performing a religious service." There is nothing corresponding to this in the Burmese text, but in the Pali the prince twice solicits the king's approval, using the verbal form of the same word, another case of special agreement between the Pali and Talaing versions. *Da*' I conjecture to be ဒ, *daḥ* = *tèh*, "to be right." The word has got to have some sort of optative or precatory force here. I do not think it can be the same word as *das* (l. 4).

Line 17. *Sḍik* = ၼိဝိ, *sḍwik* = *sḍæk* (the *e* is not distinctly short, rather between short and long), "to be pleased with." It is noticeable that the subscript *ḍ* is in the full initial form, not in the subscript form found in *paṇḍit* (l. 19). The next few words constitute the greatest crux of the whole inscription. The Burmese version (ll. 21, 22) is evidently closely parallel to the Talaing and should be referred to. The Pali *more suo* adds graphic details, viz., that the king, who was on his death-bed, clapped his hands for joy. The passage runs: *evam vutte mahāpālo rogeṇ'āturamānaso, "sādhv, sādhv" ti vatvāna tutthahattho pamodito*. The real trouble in the Talaing is the word that follows *sḍik*. The first letter of it is certainly ဝ *ga*, but the rest is doubtful. Some of my friends insist that it must be ဂျ *pyu*. But the subscript part of the letter-group does not commence on the right side of the upper part, as a subscript *y* should, but on the left, and I can make nothing of *gapyu*

anyhow, nor does it look like a normal Talaing word. I conjecture that the whole letter-group is to be taken as the equivalent of the Sanskrit \bar{r} , a letter which is not found in the modern Talaing alphabet, but survives (in a somewhat analogous form) as a sort of traditional relic in the Cambojan, and I write the word (rather arbitrarily, but on the analogy of the Cambojan sound) *garē* and conceive that it means "exclaimed": cf. the modern ကရဲ , *kamrau* = *kamra.o*, "to cry aloud" (evidently formed with the infix *-m-* from an original *karau*, or the like), or possibly the modern ကရဲခါ , *kareai* = *kerè.a*, "to bellow." The next word looks like မာ , *ma'*, but the second letter is much damaged and the word might be *mas*, or one or two other things. What the force of it is I do not profess to know. Possibly it may be some sort of interjection and go with what follows. Alternatively these mysterious words, or one of them, may be an amplification of the sense of *sāik*; but that makes matters worse, I think, in construing what follows. Mr. Halliday suggests, as a mere possibility, a comparison with ပုမာ , *pūmah* = *pæ:umðh* (the diphthong is like the English *ow* in "cow"), "happy," "to be happy," which I do not feel satisfied with. *Thic ā* (repeated) is the king's exclamation, corresponding to the Pali *sādhū* (repeated) and the Burmese တထိထိ တထိထိ တထိထိ (repeated). The inscription in the unidentified language also has a repeated phrase here. Somewhat tentatively I take *thic* to be ထိထိ , *thwik* = *thæk*, "worthy," though ထိထိ also appears in the Burmese dictionary and is (I am told) supposed to be really Burmese in origin, as to which latter point I can express no opinion. *Ā* I take to be an interjection, possibly = အိအိ , *viv* = *æ:*, "oh." The letter at the end of the line appears to me to be an *s*. In the rubbing a distinct mark appears over it (but rather lower than the normal position), which I take for an anusvāra, reading *saṃ*, for အာမ , *asām* = *asām*,

"an order," "an edict," taking it however as a verb, with *smiñ* as the subject, to mean "the king said" (= Burmese ခဏ... နိဗ္ဗာန် ခဏ်). All this is doubtful.

Line 18. *Sādhu kār* would be what the king said in his formal speech (*sañ*). The words are Indian (and in the Indian, not the Talaing, order). *Sādhu* (Pali *sādhū*, "good") = ခဏ်, *sādhū* = *sa:thu*, "good" (especially "pious"). *Kār* (Sanskrit *kāra*, "making," etc.) = ခဏ်, *kā* = *ka:*, "service" (any meritorious act). *Poy* = နိ, *puiai* = *po:e*, "we" (here = "our"). *Mhāther* (= *mahāther*, Pali *mahāthero*), "the chief monk." In modern Talaing *ther* (Pali *thero*, "senior monk") is written ခဏ်, *the*, and pronounced *ther*. The *mahāthero* is in the Pali text called *Dayāparo*. Whether *tila poy* refers exclusively to him (= "our lord the Mahāthero") or includes the others (= "our lords", etc.), I am not sure, but I incline to the former interpretation. The next word may be either a title or a conjunction. If the former, it corresponds with the Burmese ခဏ် (which I see from a note on p. 79 of *Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., Translation, etc., meant *inter alia* a Buddhist ecclesiastical dignitary). But as the Burmese title precedes *mahāther* as well as the other names, whereas our *titar* does not, I incline to the view that it is a conjunction (though Talaing usage does not necessarily require one). I suggest a comparison with the Cambodian *dadél* (= *dadèl*, written *ta:èl*), "même," "de même" (a derivative from *dél* = *dèl*, written *te:l*, "aussi," "également"), but this is a mere conjecture. I am not even prepared to guarantee that the true reading is *titar*, and not *ticār* or *tiwār*.

Lines 19, 20. The proper names in these lines appear in the Pali under the forms *Muggaliputtako*, *Sumedhatta-Sumedho*, *Brahmapālo*, *Brahmadevo*, and *Sono*. In our text the virāmas of the last three are quite clear. I write *t-her* (for *ther*, v. l. 18) because the original, instead of spelling the word with a ခဏ်, *th*, has ခဏ်, *t*, with a subscript

letter (blurred) which I take to be an *h*, though it might be a *th* (as in the Burmese it certainly is), in which case the word should be written *tther*. In pronunciation it would be joined to the preceding name. *Pandit* (Pali *pandito*), "learned," "scholar," would be pronounced *pāṇḍit* in modern Talaing.

Line 21. *Warapandit* (Pali *varapandito*), "eminent scholar," would be pronounced *wæcepāṇḍit*. The position of all these names in the Talaing text is another case, I think, of a somewhat mechanical following of the Burmese draft. In the latter they are in the natural order, as Burmese uses postpositions (here အရှေ့ဝှာ, l. 26). But Talaing uses prepositions, and so all these names are (strictly speaking) out of construction altogether until we get to *tila* at the end of the line, which sums them up and to which they may be said to be in a sort of irregular apposition.¹ *Kinta* = ဝဝ, *gata* = *keta*, "before" (here = "in the presence of"). The word is evidently formed with the infix *-in-*. I am not prepared to say whether *kinta* is the direct ancestor of ဝဝ, *gata*, or whether the latter has been formed from the same root by the help of a slightly different prefix. If the first alternative is accepted, then the ဝ is a mere device of writing and does not represent an original *g*.

Line 22. *Ta* (it looks on the plate like the modern ဝ, but is not like the first form used in the Burmese inscription, and an inspection of the rubbing makes it practically certain that ဝ is the right reading) = ဝံ, *tan* (a mere device of writing, for *ta'*) = *tā'* (almost = *tō'*), the affix denoting the plural. Its use in Talaing is optional. *Cut* = ခဝှာ, *cut* = *cut*, "to put" (here = "to

¹ The order, too, of *ther*, *pandit*, and *warapandit* (after the proper names to which they apply) is an imitation of the Indian and Burmese order, and really foreign to Talaing (cf. "Hotel Cecil", which is not proper English). But I find it in the Pegu Rājāwān, B xiii 2, pp. 96-7 (Schmidt): *Uttara the*.

pour", the usual word for which in this connexion is ငရဲငယ်). *Dek* = ငွေ (for ငွေငယ်), *dāk* = *da:it* (Pegu *da:t*, Martaban-Maulmain *da:ik*, according to Haswell-Stevens; I have heard it pronounced with a checked final, almost = *da:ī*), "water." *Han* I take to be a preposition meaning "on", but this is a mere conjecture based on the context and the existence of an obsolescent ငှိန်, *huin* = *hān*, a particle which is sometimes used in translations from the Pali to indicate that the word that follows is to be understood to be in the objective case. Alternatively *han* might be a verb meaning "to invoke", "to call to witness" (the ceremony of pouring water on the ground means that the earth is being called to witness a good deed); but I can bring forward no modern equivalent in support of such a meaning. The Burmese text (l. 26) simply says "poured water" (ရိတ် ငွေငယ် ငွေ); the Pali, as usual, is more elaborate, and describes the whole transaction in these lines:—

etesaṃ pana bhikkūnaṃ saṃmukhā so sumānaso
jalaṃ pātesi katvāna sakkhintu vasudhā-talaṃ.

Ti = ငွေ, *ti* = *tāi*, "earth." *Blah* = ငွေ, *blah* = *plèh*, "to escape" (in combination also "to release"), must here be taken together with *goh* (v. l. 4) as an expression meaning "after this was done" (cf. Malay *lepas itu*, literally "that being loosened"). The meaning is determined by the Burmese equivalent (l. 27), ငွေ ငွေ ငွေ; and cf. the Pali passage commencing *tato so tam*, etc., given on p. 1022 *supra*.

Line 23. *Ket* = ငွေငယ်, *ket* = *ke:t*, "to take."

Line 24. *Thāpanā* = ငွေငယ်, *thāpanā* = *tha:pana:*, "to enshrine" (Pali *thāpanā*, "to place"): in Talaing the cerebrals (except *ḍ*) are identified with the dentals (which are, I believe, only dentals in the ordinary English, not the exact Indian, sense); the reason for the use of *n* instead of *ṇ* is merely to indicate that the final vowel is *α*: and not

è. *Kannam* is a variant spelling of *kinnam* (v. l. 13). *Guoh* (spelt in our inscription in a peculiar and hardly orthodox way, viz. ငုဝုဝ်) = ဂုဝ်, *guh* = *kæh*, "an arched place for images, open on one side; a niche; a grotto" (Haswell-Stevens; the Burmese dictionary renders the Burmese equivalent ဂု by "the room of a hollow pagoda": I suppose it means the same thing), Sanskrit *guhā*, Pali *guhā*, "a cave." *Olon* (so written for *calon*) = ဝလ်, *calam̐n* (the anusvāra merely modifies the vowel, making it *ā* instead of *a*) = *celān*, "summit" (not in Haswell-Stevens; here = the pagoda-spire or tapering superstructure of the niche; cf. Burmese ခုဝုဝ် (l. 28) and Pali (*kañcana*)*thūpikam*). *Būsac* I can find no modern equivalent for (and I am not sure that it may not be *būsaw*). It must mean "to consecrate", "to dedicate"; cf. the Pali *katvāna maṅgalam* and Burmese ငုဝုဝ် (l. 29). If *būsac* is of Talaing origin and not a loanword, it must (I imagine) be a compound word.

Line 25. *Ket* (v. l. 23) here means, I think, "brought" (the slaves who were to be dedicated to the pagoda) to the spot; the Burmese equivalent (l. 32) is ဝဝ (? = modern ဝု).

Line 26. The name of the first village in the Burmese text is certainly ဝဝ်ဒုနုဝုဝ်, *Sakmunalon*, but the engraver of our Talaing inscription by a slip appears to have made it *Sakmunalor*; the *r* is quite clear. The Pali does not condescend to such matter of fact details as the names of these villages. The unidentified text apparently reads *Samanalom̐* (the *lo* has a mark over it which I take to represent the anusvāra, but what its precise force may be in this text I do not profess to know: perhaps it merely modifies the vowel). The language of this text objects to final *-n* and *-r*, impartially; but I assume that the Burmese form is the original and right one. *Rapāy* in our text looks like *Rahay*, but the Burmese ဂုဝ်ဝ် leaves no doubt whatever that *Rapāy* is

right. The unidentified text has *Rapai* (spelt in its own peculiar way, viz. *Rabai*). The name of the third village in our text is rather a puzzle. I read the Burmese equivalent as ငဝ်ꩻꩇꩻ, which I transliterate, letter for letter, *Henbuiw*. I am quite prepared to believe that in modern Burmese it might have to be pronounced *Shinbō*, or something of that kind, and I observe that the Burmese translator of the Burmese text (*Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., Translation, p. 97) styles it *Shanbo*. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in reply to a query of mine, says that the reading of the Burmese text is ငဝ်ꩻꩇꩻ, *Maundho* (= *Mondhuiw* in my transliteration). After a careful inspection of the rubbing I am satisfied that my reading, ငဝ်ꩻꩇꩻ, *Henbuiw*, is right, and I find that it is confirmed by the unidentified text, which is unfortunately somewhat damaged just at this point. However, it certainly has *bō*, *bu*, or *bū* (written in its peculiar way *vū*)¹ for the second syllable, and an *i* for the vowel of the first: that much is beyond all doubt, and it is enough to establish the reading *Henbuiw*, pronounce it how you may, as against *Mondhuiw*. Our Talaing text, however, has none of these things, and instead of them gives us an irritating little problem, which I read, more or less tentatively, *ñahh gin up*. What this really means I can only conjecture, but it evidently amounts to some sort of description of the third village. *Ñahh* probably = ငဝ်ꩻ, *ñah* = *ñeh*, pronoun of the 3rd person (here = "the men of", "those of"). *Gin up* is a doubtful reading anyhow. At this point I have to depend entirely on the photograph: after it was taken

¹ To justify this statement as to the force of *vū* in this text I cite the following specimens of its queer method of spelling:—*Vrahmaba* = *Brahmapāl* (Pali *Brahmapālo*), *Sūmedha* = *Sumedha*, *Sū* = *Son* (Pali *Sono*). For the *i* instead of *e* in the first syllable of *Henbuiw* cf. this text's rendering of the name *Samghasena*, which is *Sagasi*. I think the word is probably spelt *Hivū*, the *-n-* being omitted as in *Sū*. (The *ū* of *Hivū* is followed by a visarga, which I have left unrepresented as it is probably a tonal mark, as in Burmese.)

the stone appears to have suffered serious damage in this portion of it, so that the ends of ll. 26-30 and the *i* at the end of l. 31 are not represented in the rubbing at all; it looks as if a big flake (about $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) had come off the surface of the stone.¹ At a pinch *gin* might be read *gir*, but I think the former is the true reading. Perhaps it represents the modern ဝဒုဝ, *ga up* = *kè up*, which (I am told by Mr. Halliday) means a "chief" of some kind. In the Burmese dictionary I find an expression ဝဒုဝဒုဝ, given as meaning "bishop" (presumably some high member of the Buddhist hierarchy is meant). So the three words perhaps mean "the chief's (or bishop's) men", which, however, could only be an indication that this village-community had formerly belonged to some such dignitary and that the name had stuck to it; for we know that it had been held as an appanage in recent years by the deceased queen and her son after her, under the royal grant. However, that is the best I can make of it,² and I leave it to Burmese scholars to correlate it, if possible, with the Burmese ဝဒုဝဒုဝ: might that not also be some sort of titular dignity? I think the enumeration of the three villages, preceding as it does the phrase *a-ut dik pi twāñ goh* (which contains the true object of *ket*), is another case of following the Burmese draft too closely.

Line 27. After the end of the word *up* there is a stroke which I was at first disposed to take for an *r*, but careful inspection of the rubbing convinces me that it is not. It has no head and it slopes from left to right, and is of uniform thickness throughout its length. It is no letter at all. On the other hand, no punctuation mark is admissible here (and, besides, all the punctuation marks

¹ The last letters visible on the rubbing in these lines are—l. 26, ဝ, *h*; l. 27, ဝဒု, *de*; l. 28, ဝ, *-e*; l. 29, ဝဒု, *ñ* (the first half of it only); l. 30, ဝ, the first part of *o*; l. 31, ဝ, *d*.

² There is also a Talaing word ဝဒုဝ, "thicket," but then I can give no explanation of *gin* (or *gir*).

in this inscription are double, not single, strokes). But the spacing shows that the superfluous stroke was made, not by some external agency after the inscription had been completed, but by the engraver himself before he made the *c* which comes next after it. What happened (I conjecture) was that he started making the *m* of *moy*, and when he had made the first stroke he noticed that he had omitted the *c* which ought to have preceded it. So he just left the stroke and started afresh to make the *c*. We have already (in ll. 4, 25, and 26) had evidence of his want of foresight and care. He probably did not understand a word of Talaing, and simply imitated a handwritten sketch. *Ku* (l. 7) here = "for", "to", "in honour of". The pouring out of water in this case is a symbolical ceremonial attesting the consecration of the statue and pagoda and the dedication of the slaves to the service thereof.

Line 28. Here, I think, we have another instance of carelessness, for what I have transcribed *thāpanā* looks in the original more like *māpanā*, which makes no sense.¹ But, as Mr. Halliday has pointed out to me, the *o* (or what looks like one) is not formed like the other *m*'s in the inscription: the cross-stroke is horizontal, whereas the others have it more or less diagonal ("bend dexter" fashion), and it is plain that this is merely an incomplete *th* (of the type used in this inscription), the top stroke having been omitted by inadvertence. This may have been due to an error in the manuscript sketch, for the letter is not as angular at the bottom corners as the *th* usually is in this inscription. *Hin* probably = 𑜋𑜃𑜫 , *ahin* = *ahin*, "when," must be taken with *goh te* to mean "while

¹ I find in the Sanskrit dictionary (Monier-Williams) a word *māpanā* = "measuring or meting out (especially the place for a sacrifice); the act of measuring or forming or shaping"; but to speak of the statue (at this stage) as "which he had shaped" seems senseless, and there is no evidence that the word is used at all in Talaing.

(doing) this"; cf. *blah goh* (l. 22). *Rādhanā* = ရာဇနာ, *rādanā* = ရဲ:တဲနဲ: (or ရဲ:တဲနဲ:), "to pray" (Sanskrit *rādhanā*, "propitiating," "conciliating;" *rādhanā*, "speech"). The prayer and imprecation that follow are of a type normal in Burmese inscriptions recording grants to pious uses.

Line 29. The word I read *sinrañ* may conceivably be *pinrañ*. Either way I can give no modern equivalent. It must, I think, mean something like "deed"; cf. the Burmese ရာ အဓိပ္ပာယ် (l. 34) and the Pali passage beginning *karentena*. It is probably formed (like *kinta*, l. 21) by means of the old infix *-in-* from some word *sarañ* (*srañ*) or *parañ* (*prañ*). I was at first inclined to derive it from ဖွင့်, *prañ*, "to send a message," thus identifying it with the modern ဝရင့်, *parañ*, "anything sent," in the specialized sense (*pro hac vice*) of "offering". But I am told by Mr. Halliday that the word cannot convey such a meaning as this, and subsequent careful inspection of the rubbing convinces me that the initial is *s-*, not *p-*, so I must leave it unexplained. There is a word ဖွင့်, *sruñ* = *sera:ñ*, "to build," but I doubt if it can come from that. Unless *e'* is a wrongly spelt *ey* (= "my", v. l. 1), it must be taken with *te'* to form the longer form of the latter, viz. ဣတေ, *item* (really *ite'*) = *ite'*; v. l. 3. The true reading may, however, conceivably be *wo'*, in which case the word would be *iwo'*, the lengthened form of *wo'* (v. remarks on *te'*, l. 3). Or, which occurs also in l. 33, must be an interjection or particle giving an optative force to the verb. It is probably the modern ဝ, *o*, which I am told is pronounced something like *ò*: (though one would expect it to be *au*, according to general rule). *Het* = ဝိတ, *huit* = *hā:t*, "cause" (Burmese အကြောင်း, l. 35). *Gwo'* = ဂွ, *gwañ* (another very arbitrary piece of spelling for *gwa'* or more probably *go'* or *gu'*) = *kæ'*, "to obtain." *Sarwaññutaññāṇ* shows a Sanskritized form as compared with the *sabbaññutaññāṇam* of the Pali version. The latter

(curtailed of its termination *-am*) is used in modern Talaing and Burmese. As in the Burmese text, so in the Talaing also, the *r* is superscript and the second *w* subscript, the whole forming one letter-group.

Line 30. *Lah* here appears to mean "either . . . or", in which case it would correspond rather with the modern ငဝ, *le* = *le:*, "also," than with the modern ငဝ, *lah* = *leh*, "at all;" cf. the Burmese equivalent ငဝ၌ငဝ၌ and the Pali *vā*. *Cow* = ငဝ, *caru* = *ca:o*, "grandchild." *Kulo* = ငဝငဝ, *kalo* = *kela:u* (the diphthong *a:u* is an *a:* merging into and ending in an *au*, to my ear; it is very long, almost two syllables), "a relative." Whether this is the Sanskrit *kula*, "family," I am not at all sure. There is a word *kēlō* or *klō* in Sakai meaning "brother", and Cambodian has a word *kelō* (written *klō*, the *ō* being a combination of *e* and *i*), "ami, camarade," which do not look as if they were of Indian origin.

Line 31. *Ñah* is what I take the *ñahh* of l. 26 to be. *C-en* (so transcribed to make it clear that it stands really for *ca-en*, the word being of two syllables and the second syllable beginning with an initial vowel) = ငဝ၌, *s-āñ* (for *sa-āñ*) = *sa-a:in* (the final is not pronounced as *ñ*, cf. *smiñ*, l. 3), "another" (Burmese ငဝ တ၌ ငဝ, l. 37). *Yal* = ငဝ, *yaw* = *yā:*, "if." The next word is rather damaged, but I read it *par* (v. l. 14), as the sense and the Burmese equivalent ငဝ require. *Upadrow* = ငဝ၌, *upaddrau* (sic) = *upatrè:æ* (Sanskrit *upadrava*), "a calamity" (here evidently = "mischief", "wrong", "violence"; cf. the Burmese ငဝ၌ တ၌, l. 38). The Pali with its *upaddvām* again shows special agreement with our text.

Line 32. *Yañ* I take to be the obsolescent word which is sometimes used in modern Talaing to introduce the subject case in rendering Pali passages = ငဝ, *yañ* = *yè.āñ*. *Ñir* is probably ငဝ, *ñi* = *ñi*, "a little" (a word of the

same form is also used as a precatory affix, but apparently its proper position (in modern Talaing at least) is at the end of the sentence; however, it may be that the usage was formerly otherwise). $\tilde{N}ac = \text{တောဝ်}$, $\tilde{n}at = \tilde{n}at$, "to see."

Line 33. *Trey* = တေ , *trai* = trò:a (usually pronounced krò:a), "excellent," "exalted," the stereotyped epithet for Buddhas. *Mettey* = မေတ္တေယျ , *Mettayya*, also spelt မေဝ်ထေယျ , *Mettaiyya* = Mettò:a , the next Buddha that is to come. *Lah* (v. l. 30) here seems to have the meaning of "at all". It is so used in modern Talaing in negative sentences, usually repeated *lah lah*, e.g. ဝ ဒာ ဝဒ်ဝဒ် = "go not at all" (Haswell-Stevens, p. 298). The trouble here is that though it is quite certain that the sense of the sentence is negative (cf. the last line of the Pali version), it is not quite clear which word expresses the negative.¹ If $\tilde{n}ir$ and *lah* between them cannot be made to convey it, I hazard the conjecture that it may lie in the word *deh*. I had at first taken this for ဒေ (*dem*, really *de'*) = *de'*, "he," a pronoun of the 3rd person. I am disposed to think it may be an obsolete negative, possibly cognate to the Cambojan *te* (written *de*), "no," but I feel very doubtful as to this conjecture. I had at first taken *go'* to be ဝဒ် , *gah* = kèh , "said," taking it with *deh* as a sort of "quoth he" at the end of the prince's prayer. But I now think (with Mr. Halliday) that it is merely another spelling of *gwo'* (l. 29), and corresponds to the Burmese ဂ ဝိတ် , meaning "(may he not) be able (to see)".

Subject to the foregoing remarks the translation of our inscription will be something of this sort :—

¹ I am told that there is a similar difficulty in the Burmese text. It is not within my scope to discuss this text, but I may point out that in these imprecations the common form in Burmese is မ ဖူ ဂ ဝိတ် သဝေ or the like (မ being the negative). On p. ၁၀၃ of *Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., I have found အဖူ ဂ ဝိတ် သဝေ , however, and I assume it to be a correct transcription.

"Prosperity! Honour to Buddha! Prosperity! After the religion of my lord the Buddha had been going on for one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years past,¹ Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāj was king in the city of Arimaddanapur; a queen² of that king was named Trilokawatamsakādewī; that queen's son³ was called Rājakumār. The king gave three villages of slaves to the queen. When the queen died, the king gave all the queen's goods, together with the three villages of slaves, to the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār. After the king had reigned for twenty-eight years, when the king was sick well-nigh unto death, the queen's son who was named Rājakumār, remembering the favours where-with the king had nourished him, made a golden Buddha and went and presented it to the king, and spake thus: 'This golden Buddha have I, a slave, made for my lord. The three villages of slaves that my lord gave to me, I, a slave, am giving to this Buddha. My lord, approval (would be) fitting!' Then the king, being pleased, exclaimed, 'Oh! worthy! Oh! worthy!' The king said, 'A pious act!' Then our lord the Chief Monk and the senior monk Muggaliputtatissa, the learned Sumedha, Brahmapāl, Brahmadiw, Son, and the very learned Saṅghasena (being present), in the presence of those lords the king poured out water on the ground. After this (had been done) the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār, took the golden Buddha and enshrined it⁴ and made this cave-pagoda⁵ with the golden spire. When dedicating the Buddha and cave-pagoda,⁵ the queen's son

¹ A reference to the chronological tables at the end of Phayre's *History of Burma* shows that this is the date of the king's death. His Burmese name was Kyanzit.

² It appears from the Pali version that she was his chief queen; *tass' āsekā piyā devī sā Trilokawatamsikā* (sic), *hitesī kusālā sabbaticcesu pana rājino* is the phrase by which she is described.

³ He must, I assume, have been the queen's son by a former marriage (for else I imagine he would have been styled "the king's son").

⁴ Or "to enshrine it".

⁵ Or "niche-pagoda".

brought up (the men of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapāy, one village, and the men of (the) Gin Up, one village, all those three village-communities of slaves, and poured out water for the golden Buddha that he (had) enshrined; and while (doing) so he prayed thus: 'May this act be a cause (for me) to obtain omniscience! Be it my child, be it my grandchild, be it my kinsman, be it any other, if he do violence to the slaves that I am giving to this Buddha, may he in no wise be able to behold the exalted Buddha Mettey!'"

I need not insist here upon the linguistic importance of this inscription: the thing speaks for itself, for this is, so far as I know, the first attempt that has ever been made to decipher and translate a really ancient inscription in Talaing. Nothing whatever, I believe, has yet been published regarding the older forms of the language, and even its modern form is known to very few Europeans. I should think one might count them on the fingers of two hands, and (so far as I know) there is not a single British official in Burma who is properly acquainted with the Talaing tongue. Yet it is a most important language from the point of view of local epigraphy and antiquities, and by no means deserves the neglect which has fallen to its lot. Had the Talaings been some turbulent hill-tribe, we should have had half a dozen energetic frontier officers vying with one another in studying the language, and they would (very properly) have received substantial encouragement from the Government in their efforts to study it. As the Talaings are only the peaceable and loyal descendants of the earliest civilized race in Burma, their language is being quietly ignored. I venture once more to appeal to the powers that be to take a more active interest in this matter. There may be no political importance in it; but from the scientific point of view Talaing is the greatest remaining field of research in Burma, or for that matter in the

whole of Further India, and it urgently calls for immediate investigation.

Both for the discursiveness of this paper and for its shortcomings I claim the indulgence accorded to all first attempts. In starting a new line of inquiry one cannot help going into many matters of detail; and in spite of the inestimable advantage of parallel versions to work with, many doubtful points remain in my interpretation of this text. The fact is that circumstances have compelled me to follow a radically wrong method: I have had to jump from modern Talaing, with the written form of which I have some little acquaintance (inadequate, though it be), straight to eleventh century Talaing, of which no man living knows anything at all. If I had had before me a dozen inscriptions illustrating the intervening centuries, many of the outstanding difficulties would probably have disappeared. It is to be hoped and expected that the future will make good this deficiency. I must also apologize for any errors that may be found in the Burmese, Pali, and Sanskrit words cited in this article. These have not been introduced in order to make a parade of learning (for I do not profess to know any of these languages), but merely in order to elucidate the Talaing. The circumstance that I have had to make my references hurriedly and then write this article in a remote spot out of reach of bulky dictionaries must serve as my excuse for any minor errors that may have crept in.

POSTSCRIPT. A recent letter from Mr. Taw Sein Ko states that the pillar from which our Talaing inscription is copied is now in the Pagan Museum, and that the other pillar is the one set up on the platform of the Myazedi Pagoda. The latter has its Talaing face covered over with plaster, and as the stone is broken it was not thought advisable to dismantle it. So there is a Talaing replica after all, but we shall never see it.

